The Eastern District of the Workers' Educational Association : Growth and Development 1913-40

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Abstract

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Established in 1913, the Eastern District was one of several regional bodies which constituted the federal structure of the Workers' Educational Association, founded by Mansbridge in 1903.

The growth of the District between 1913 and 1940 is considered generally within the wider context of the development of the national W.E.A. and specifically within its own region. The fundamental influences of the Oxford Report, 1908, the Final Report of the Adult Education Committee, 1919, and the Board of Education Regulations, 1908 to 1938, on the development of attitudes to, and increasingly differentiated provision of, liberal adult education in the predominantly rural area of the Eastern District are also considered. An examination is made of the problems of organisation and finance which powerfully affected policies and activities of the District during the inter-war period and which assumed considerable significance in the relationships between it, the Local Education Authorities in the region and the University of Cambridge Board of Extra Mural Studies. The policy attitudes and varying activities of L.E.A.s and the University's Board of Extra Mural Studies directly assisted or restricted the educational provision of the voluntary District and reflected opportunities arising from Board of Education Regulations of 1924 and 1932.

Although the role of the L.E.A.s was not one of direct provision of liberal adult education during the period, that of the Board of Extra Mural Studies was explicitly so and a continuation of a tradition established during the late nineteenth century, and originating at Cambridge, through the university extension movement. From a co-operative partnership with the District during the early years of its existence, the Board developed during the nineteen thirties a unilateral policy intended to expand its provision for liberal adult education in the rural counties of eastern England. These developments were strenuously resisted by the national W.E.A. and the District and led to a competitive and deteriorating relationship between both providing bodies.

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Vivian Williams

Introduction

The Origins of the Study

The primary intention of this study has been to consider the ways in which one District of the W.E.A. organised, provided and sustained its voluntary effort in the development of liberal adult education from its foundation and throughout the inter-war period. It was also hoped that such a study would contribute to a better understanding of the development of the W.E.A. during the post-Mansbridge period when liberal adult education entered a new institutionalised phase of development following the establishment of university departments of extra-mural education and the W.E.A's increased dependence on government financial assistance.

Three main topics presented themselves as potentially important to the study. First, an examination of the relationship between the District and the Cambridge Board of Extra Mural Studies appeared not merely relevant but interesting as a means of examining why Oxford was not only the first of the two ancient universities to support the infant W.E.A. but continued to be considerably actively more supportive in its relationships than Cambridge in the pre-1939 period. As Cambridge had been the progenitor of university extension it appeared unusual that it had not apparently sustained its interest and support for liberal adult education through the W.E.A. Little research appeared to have been undertaken on the topic since the main period of university extension at Cambridge. It was to become the dominant topic of this study through the discovery of papers relating to the development of the Board's unilateral intentions for the development of rural areas. The two concluding chapters are devoted to consideration of the issues, difficulties and convoluted negotiations between the District, with the support of the national Association, and the Board of Extra Mural Studies.

Second, the role of the Local Education Authorities in the provision of liberal adult education, and their relative inactivity, appeared neither to be well-documented nor fully understood. In the Eastern District it was attributed to the antipathetic attitudes of education officers or politically motivated councillors serving on county or borough councils. It became clear that this was only partially accurate and that the influence of the distinction between responsibilities and duties under Education Acts, the acceptance of an indirect role by L.E.A.s in provision from the earliest period of the W.E.A., recommended by the Oxford and Adult Education Committee Reports, together with the demonstrated capacity of the joint University-W.E.A. provision combined in an acceptance of a non-providing role by L.E.A.s for an extremely small sector of educational endeavour. Their reluctance to respond more positively to the Board of Education exhortation in 1924 during the period immediately following the issue of the Adult Education Regulations assumed an un-anticipated importance. Thus, a detailed consideration of the appropriate Board of Education Regulations became necessary to examine the policy developments which they reflected or stimulated in the relationships between the three bodies empowered to make provision for liberal adult education.

Third, the Eastern District had been served by only two District Secretaries since its formation in 1913. The possibilities of drawing on their considerable, extended experience to establish and permanently record the main features of development and the central issues for the W.E.A. in the District was considered an important contribution to a more accurate and complete understanding of the development of the national W.E.A. which had not been considered by T. W. Price, published in 1924, or in Mary Stocks' account of the first fifty years of existence of the Association. Further, Peers and Raybould had concentrated on particular rather than general historical features in the growth of the Association.

Sources and Methods

In view of the dearth of publications on the history of the W.E.A., and as a member of the Eastern District, the writer sought and was granted access to the material at the District Office, Botolph House, Cambridge. Unless stated otherwise, all references to primary sources are to those held at Botolph House. Unfortunately, two requests for access to material for the same period held at the Board of Extra Mural Studies, Stuart House, Cambridge, were unsuccessful. References to the Cambridge University Local Lectures Syndicate and the Board of extra Mural Studies are thus limited to copies in the Botolph House archives or are included in the records which were deposited at the Cambridge University Library in 1974. The study is accordingly not as comprehensive in its treatment as originally intended but it is believed that the bulk of the material in connection with the Board's rural areas scheme has been consulted.

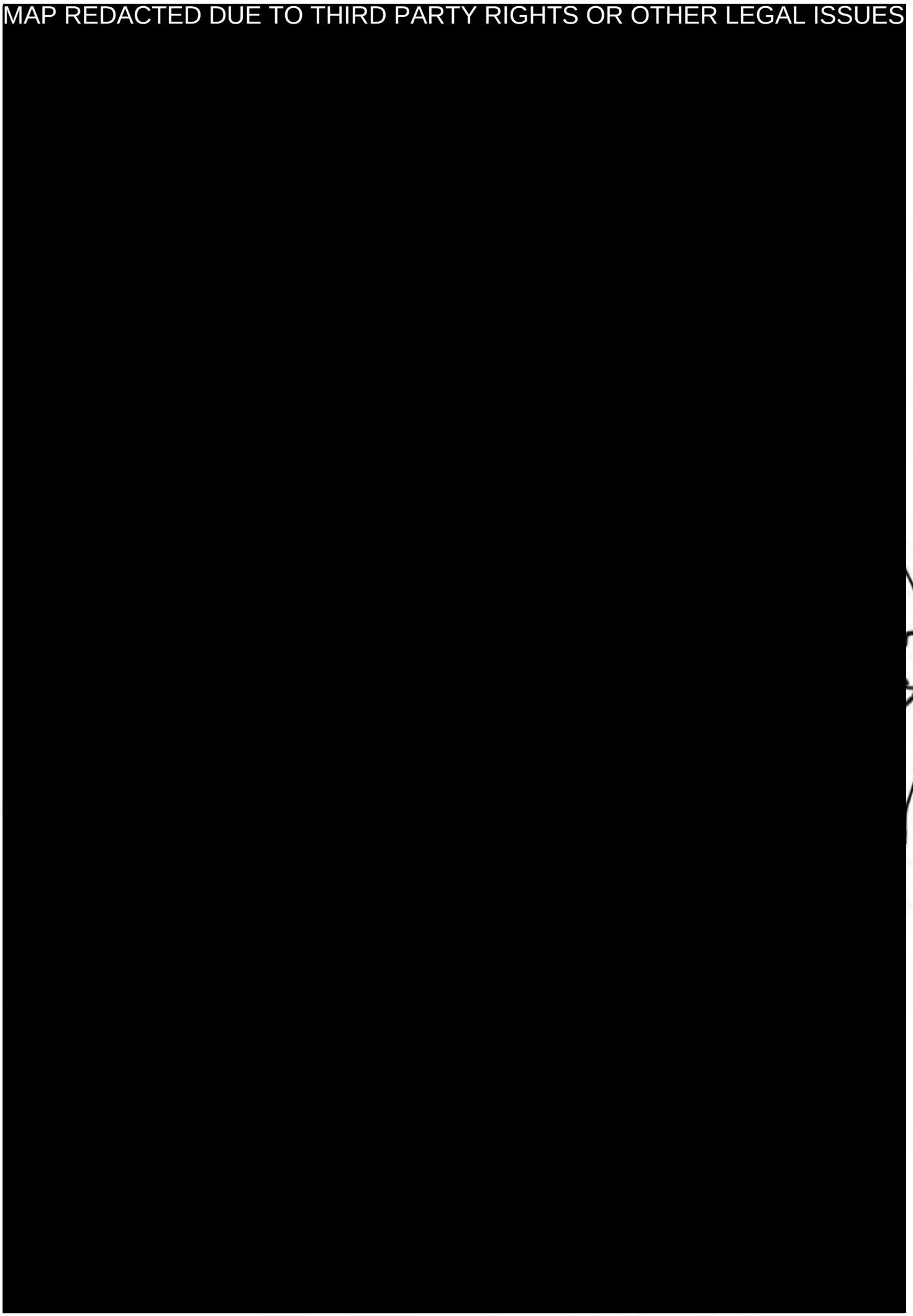
Although much documentary material of the District was destroyed when a large number of papers were given in error to a waste-paper collection in aid of the war effort in the early nineteen forties, the research has involved scrutiny of thousands of documents and letters the majority of which were in connection with the routine administration of the District. The pre-war method of filing was rudimentary and material was arranged in chronological order without any classification. Some important personal documents of George Pateman's were discovered after his death in 1968 packed into a Victorian wicker-work baby basket.

It was also possible to undertake a series of tape-recordings of conversations with George Pateman, Henry Nash, and Mrs. Clara Rackham before their deaths in the late nineteen sixties, as well as an unrecorded discussion with J.G. Newlove in Norwich in 1969 a few months before he died. Other recordings have also been made of conversations with Sir Harold Shearman, Arther Allen and F.M. Jacques the present District Secretary. All these were

in connection with the growth and organisation of the District although some of the earlier meetings pre-dated the intention of this research.

Visits to libraries in Bedford, Cambridge, Kettering, Northampton, Norwich and Wellingborough were undertaken to examine local authority records and newspapers relevant to the activities of the District but unfortunately few Branches have maintained records of their early existence. Other visits have been made to the national W.E.A. office at Temple House, Bodleian Library, Oxford, and to the Department for External Studies at Rewley House, Oxford to consult a variety of primary and, especially, secondary sources.

As a result of the enquiries about the activities of the District and in the absence of a detailed history of the W.E.A. it became necessary to include a considerable amount of contextual material relevant to developments in the Eastern District but not always directly linked with its specifically regional concerns. The necessity to include such material serves to illustrate the considerable amount of research which remains to be undertaken on the history of the national Association. This study has revealed several areas in which further detailed research are required, of which four appear to be of particular interest and importance. First, the effects of the federalised structure of the W.E.A. on its policy formulation which underwent fundamental change in the inter-war years. Second, the policy intentions of the Board of Education from the period of Morant to the 1944 Education Act and which were reflected in the serial Regulations for Adult Education from 1908. Third, the reasons for the reluctance of L.E.A.s, with few exceptions, to make direct provision for liberal adult education and the development of policies of the Association of Education Committees and the Association of Municipal Corporations during the inter-war years. Fourth, an analysis of the social and economic influences during the inter-war period which led to the original objectives of the W.E.A. being gradually submerged in response to a wider demand for courses in liberal studies for adults who were drawn from higher socio-economic levels in society.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Chapter 1

An Historical Perspective

Formative Influences and Endeavours

"The Workers' Educational Association moves in a path worn smooth by the vanguard of the anonymous".[1] Tawney was referring to the importance of earlier influences, particularly during the nineteenth century which had contributed to the social, economic and educational conditions which led to the emergence of the W.E.A. in 1903 as the most significant voluntary body in the sphere of liberal adult education during this century. The strands of many endeavours during the previous century in the development of opportunities for the education of adults were gathered together in the W.E.A. At the time of its creation a new enterprise was needed following the recognition of the importance of education in the social life and economic fabric of the nation and, at least as significant at that time, the accession to political power of representatives of working people beginning with the election to Parliament of the first "Labour Members".

There is an inherent difficulty in considering social class differentiation. Historically, its criteria have varied considerably and stratification is too simplistic to reflect adequately the complexities which existed. For the nineteenth century, however, it is possible within broad tolerences to consider social divisions associated with occupation, educational opportunities speech and dress as differentiating between social classes. Further, the rapid growth of industrial urban centres, led to the creation of socially homogeneous zones in towns, immediately distinguishable

1. R.H.Tawney "The Radical Tradition" Allen & Unwin 1964 p.75.

in visual and architectural terms, and segregated physically as well as socially by material wealth.

Further, within the broad generalisation about manual working people there existed in the nineteenth century social, economic, educational and cultural differences which were also immediately recognisable. There were wide differences between craftsmen and unskilled manual workers, much wider than those existing today. In education, the former had received some formal education often extended through Sunday Schools, self-improvement societies, Mechanics' Institutes or trade union societies which were largely confined in their early stages to skilled trades. Early trade unions formed:

> "a limited labour aristocracy, which was concerned to defend its position against less skilled workers as well as against the employers, and insisted for this purpose on rules governing the entry to apprenticeship, the number of apprentices, and the exclusive right to practise a skilled trade, to the full extent of its power to enforce its claims".[1]

It was not until the eighteen nineties that trade unionism began to emerge as an important movement in the less skilled manual occupational groups and, following the effects of the Education Act of 1870, that the significantly wide gap between skilled and unskilled manual workers narrowed both in the sense of social habits as well as in earned income. Women in employment were largely in domestic service or small businesses and almost entirely non-unionised until the end of the century.

The recognition of two important achievements; elementary education provided by the State from 1870 and the accession to political power by recently enfranchised working people, represented major developments to which

1. G.D.H. Cole Studies in Class Structure Routledge and Kegan Paul (2nd Edition) 1961 p.52.

earlier social movements had made a significantly large contributory effort. Of the many contributors in these developments in society three main influences are considered here because of their importance to the origins of the W.E.A.

The first and chronologically the earliest, category includes all those endeavours inspired by religious impulse. Although the history of education for religious reasons is traceable for several hundred years, there is a clear unbroken line of activity from the eighteenth century.

The eighteenth century saw the beginning of important religious developments in adult education through the stimulation of scientific investigation and discovery; the religious imperative of personal salvation and redemption through catechetical teaching and individual study of the Bible, the availability of which was rapidly increased during the century, provided the main impetus. The development of religious teaching through efforts to extend literacy arose principally from the earlier efforts of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, the Methodists and Quakers all of whom were motivated by the conviction of the necessity to secure moral regeneration through church organised and controlled classes for children and adults. The educational objective of literacy was subordinated to the religious aim. Circulating schools, Sunday Schools and, towards the end of the century, Adult Schools were the organisational forms through which provision was made and with their rapid growth, it is reasonably clear that thousands of previously illiterate people contributed to the growth of a new religious conviction and leadership within churches and chapels.[1] The fundamental objectives of the leaders of these movements, Wesley, Fox, Raikes, Pole and Freeman were achieved through a remarkable renewal of Christian faith, but which also through its

1. T.Kelly. A History of Adult Education. Liverpool University Press 1970 pp.70-80.
Robert Peers 'Adult Education: A Comparative Study' Routledge & Kegan Paul 1958. pp 6-7.

union with mass literacy was to have other profound effects on the social and personal lives of the people who came to recognise the importance of education as factor of significance in self-improvement which was as influential as the religious one.[1]

The Adult School especially was important to the future of adult education provision. Through its activities, adult literacy increased, which in turn stimulated interests in secular reading, an important consequence of which was the development of political movements in the early and mid-nineteenth century. In addition, the Adult School demonstrated that adulthood was a period in which the capacity to learn was unimpaired; a matter of some significance at a time when the employment of children was justified on the grounds that little effective learning occurred beyond the age of seven years.[2]

Whatever the reasons of those who attended, either to learn to read the Bible for personal salvation or simply to become literate to improve their employment prospects, the influence of the Adult School movement was considerable.

A revival in the vigour of the Adult School movement in the last twenty five years of the nineteenth century, much of it under the auspices of the Society of Friends were more typical of social and educational societies, and several established links with the university extension movement and arranged lectures for members. A further development was the

1. Charles Wesley's decision to publish a wide range of cheap, abridged versions of existing books dealing with literary, economic and social issues in addition to religious tracts led to a substantial increase in the availability of publications to a wide, recently literate adult population.
2. R. Peers op.cit. p12.

federation into Adult School Unions and at least in Norfolk and Northamptonshire these Unions were active in the period up to 1939.[1]

The second set of influences included those social and economic changes which occurred over a period of almost a century from the final quarter of the eighteenth century and produced a confluence of two fundamentally important but disruptive influences. The first led to a destruction of the old, traditional social order based on heredity and land. With the social change came a re-distribution of population and a rapid increase in its numerical size in which new social groupings with several differentiated levels arose - entrepreneurial, professional, engineers, and craftsmen such as mechanics with status dependent either on wealth derived from the new industrial processes or from expertise associated with secondary industries such as canals, roads and railways required to serve the new industrial centres located on coalfields, the new energy source. These, in turn provided opportunities for an unprecedented growth of tertiary occupations: commerce, insurance, legal and communications, and further differentiation within the new social scale.

The creation of new employment opportunities, new trades and occupations accelerated the movement of large numbers of people from the countryside to the new industrial towns a process begun by the Enclosures earlier in the century. Migration from the predominantly rural areas gradually led to the emergence of the new social and economic phenomenon of the wage-earner, wholly dependent on employment in mill, factory, mine or workshop and thus subject to the fluctuations of trade and entrepreneurial competition. From this economic servitude arose a wide range of inequities: exploitation by employers of men, women and children; casualisation of employment led to poverty, hardship, and over-crowding in the unplanned urban sprawl lacking any development of public amenities as the population rose rapidly. The uprooted

1. J.W. Hudson "The History of Adult Education" 1851 Woburn Press Reprint 1969. Hudson records Adult Schools in Norwich (1815) & Ipswich (1816).

populations were drawn from all regions in the country bringing with them old social customs and culture, which largely disappeared in the generation born in the new towns, and loosened restraining familial and community customs which released new social forces.

The increased use of technical processes inevitably became a matter of interest to the employee in industrial workshops. The literate, intelligent worker was increasingly required to have mechanical skills to understand the principles on which the new processes depended. Craftsmen were needed to construct new machinery and the industrial artisan required instruction in the new skills and for the application of new scientific principles. These requirements and interests were satisfied, largely under the patronage of entrepreneurs and philanthropists, through the rapid growth of Mechanics' Institutes in the first half of the nineteenth century. George Birkbeck's experience and lectures in Glasgow from 1800 to 1804 are acknowledged as the initial development. Although many scientific societies had existed in the previous century they had been discontinuous, sporadic and not intended for the artisan class. Birkbeck's courses of evening lectures of up to three months' duration were provided free of charge "solely for persons engaged in the practical exercise of the mechanical arts".[1] They were not intended for unskilled, operatives but for intelligent artisans who were craftsmen in the construction and maintenance of machinery.

Mechanics' Institutes were established for these skilled working people and also for the dissemination of knowledge about a wide range of technical and scientific subjects. Their numbers and distribution expanded from about 1820 to a peak in 1851 when some 600 existed and

1. T. Kelly 'George Birkbeck' Liverpool University Press, 1957 p.28.

about 16,000 people attended lectures and classes.[1] Almost every town and industrial village had its Mechanics Institute, and although undoubtedly successful over a period of about fifty years, their attraction was to the skilled tradesman in search of self-improvement both for its own satisfaction and also for improved employment prospects.[2] The objectives of the majority of these Institutes were not directed at unskilled working people. A few did attempt to provide elementary courses replacing the lecture course by an instructional class system, but the large city Institute provided lecture courses which were relatively expensive and by the middle of the century a decline in serious purpose had affected many.[3] The miscellaneous lectures, short courses on non-scientific subjects and emphasis on social activities is interpreted as a trend away from the artisan membership of earlier years being replaced by employees in sedentary, tertiary occupations and some Institutes modified their names to include references to literary activities.[4] This trend was deplored in the contemporary history of Mechanics' Institutes but it represented a realisation of one of Birkbeck's original objectives that they should become agencies of cultural education, liberating the mind and enriching the lives of those who were members. But Birkbeck had not envisaged this activity would displace the original objectives.[5]

1. Ministry of Reconstruction Adult Education Committee Final Report, 1919, H.M.S.O. p.14.
2. R. Peers op.cit. p.16. For example, of the committee of thirty at the London Mechanics' Institute, twenty were working men.
3. The Institutes in Birmingham, Huddersfield and others in the north of England were founded by workers. Kelly op.cit.1970 includes details on p.123. Few were unskilled and the Manchester Mechanics' Institute was explicit in its purposes "of enabling mechanics and artizans... to become acquainted with such branches of science as are of practical application in the exercise of that trade, that they may possess a more thorough knowledge of their business, acquire a greater degree of skill in the practice of it, and be qualified to make improvements and even new inventions in the arts which they respectively profess. It is not intended to teach the trade of the machine maker, the dyer, the carpenter, the mason or any other practical business, but there is no art which does not depend more or less on scientific principles, and to search out what these are, and to point out their practical application, will form the chief objects of the Institution." Adult Education Committee Final Report 1919 pp14-16.
4. R. Peers op.cit p.17.
5. The first survey of Mechanics Institutes was made by J.W.Hudson "The History of Adult Education" Longmans 1851.

Thus by the middle of the nineteenth century it was clear that although the second major influence in the development and provision of adult education, that of economic change and development, had exerted a powerful effect, it was to the skilled artisan and the professional classes that the Mechanics' Institutes had their greatest appeal. Kelly observes that the membership of the Institutes was:

> "very like that of the Workers' Educational Association in the early twentieth century i.e. skilled manual workers, with a sprinkling of shopkeepers, shop assistants and business and professional people, the general picture being upper working class - lower middle class".1

It is arguable that, at least in the Eastern District of the W.E.A. and perhaps elsewhere, the analogy is somewhat flawed in that the two major groups supporting the W.E.A. - teachers and housewives - were not prominent in Institute membership; indeed women were admitted only with reluctance and were not significant numerically in the Mechanics Institutes, as Kelly also observes.[2]

In East Anglia, Hudson records several Mechanics' Institutes in each of the counties. Most were conventionally named although some had become either literary societies, or literary and scientific institutes. Subscription fees suggest that the majority were intended for skilled artisan and professional people, the average subscription appearing to be within the range of ten shillings to a guinea. A few, such as those in Northamptonshire, Chelmsford, Whittlesey, St. Ives and King's Lynn charged five shillings or less but by 1851, at least, were simply club reading rooms. Few of these arranged lectures although the membership was between seventy and 300.[3]

1. T. Kelly op.cit. 1970 p.128
2. Ibid p.227.
3. J.W. Hudson op.cit. pp.223-224.

Alongside the Mechanics' Institutes there existed a large number of mutual-improvement societies, many of which pre-dated Institutes, and which arose from a demand of workers, illiterate or semi-literate seeking to improve their limited skills and broaden understanding of the social and economic changes through which they were living. These societies "which knew no master and acknowledged no limitations" appear to have arisen spontaneously wherever like-minded groups came together for discussion. Often linked to small libraries, some housed in taverns and others held by nascent trade unions, these groups came to recognise the links between knowledge and power and thus the importance of education in that relationship.

The third category included those influences which shaped the pattern of the second and drew on the literacy which arose from the first. It released political forces produced largely by the consequences of rapid industrialisation and the growing consciousness, more obvious to philanthropists and politicians than to ordinary people that the society being created in the early nineteenth century was fundamentally, illiberal, unjust and exploitative of the majority of unskilled working people who, as wage earners, were especially vulnerable to the uncontrolled and apparently uncontrollable fluctuations of the economic cycle. Dobbs maintained that:

> "It is in the wider outlook and in the demand for knowledge produced by the religious movements of the period, and the economic and political consequences of the Industrial Revolution, that we must seek the origin of those ideas of democratic government which have entered so largely into adult education in recent times".1

Religion and political theory came together in Methodist reading circles using Paine's texts; secular movements emerged infused with notions

1. A.E. Dobbs "Education and Social Movements 1700-1850" Longmans 1919 p.141.

of egalitarianism and democracy which appeared to be less distant with the changing economic and social conditions than in earlier times.

The lack of educational opportunity and its consequential effects were also evident signs of social and political inferiority. No longer was education exclusively required for salvation and redemption, but with growing insistence regarded as a means by which social and political emancipation would be secured. As noted above, mutual improvement societies became more closely connected with associations or combinations of working men in trades and political union. Elementary education provided by the British & Foreign Schools Society was supported by Non-conformists and the Whigs while the National Society was the Anglican counterpart and largely Tory-supported because of its close association with the Established Church. There were fears among the higher social and income groups over the issue of increased educational provision which also tended to politicise the issue. Several parliamentary bills failed over the religious dissension during the century as well as over fears for the transfer of government control to the people through suffrage or revolution. Thus the 1807 Education Bill produced the following succint summary of the general attitude of Parliament to increased educational provision:

> "However specious in theory the project might be of giving education to the labouring classes of the poor, it would be prejudicial to their morals and happiness; it would teach them to despise their lot in life, instead of making them good servants in agriculture and other laborious employments. Instead of teaching them subordination, it would render them fractious and refractory...it would enable them to read seditious pamphlets, vicious books, and publications against Christianity; it would render them insolent to their superiors; and in a few years the legislature would find it necessary to direct the strong arm of power towards them". 1

1. In A.K.C. Ottaway 'Education and Society" Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1962 p.63.

Nevertheless, in the Report of the Parliamentary Committee on , 1818, advocating the adoption of the Parish School System where voluntary effort could not provide elementary education, a different view was given:

> "...there is the most unquestionable evidence that the anxiety of the poor for education continues not only unabated, but daily increasing; that it extends to every part of the country... where no means of gratifying it are provided by the charitable efforts of the richer classes." 1.

The most notable of all Victorian philanthropists and a leading political theorist was Robert Owen whose ideas were translated into practice in his own industries and in the community life of the working people at New Lanark. Although abandoning formal religion his stance was essentially a moral one founded on a belief in the power of environmental influences to shape human attitudes and behaviour. He believed that physical improvements in working and living conditions and education from infancy extending into adult life contributed powerfully to a rational system in society leading to full liberty for the individual. His influence was enormous: both the Co-operative and Socialist movements were to claim him as the source of their philosophies, and to others he was the most enlightened employer of his time.

The Co-operative movement followed the Owenite principle of controlling all the means of production and trade. In Rochdale, the Society of Equitable Pioneers began the movement of profitable self-interest from 1844, devoting a small percentage of its income for the purpose of education. It led to a long and outstandingly vigorous tradition in adult education in which Rochdale was to participate and lead in the Co-operative movement, in university extension and the W.E.A. and its pioneering activities were to provide the basis for the organisation and conduct of all subsequent Tutorial Classes during Tawney's first Class there in 1906-07.[2.]

1. J.S. Maclure (Ed) 'Educational Documents' Chapman & Hall, 1965 p.20.
2. Oxford and Working Class Education Oxford, The Clarendon Press 2nd Edition 1909. Appendix VI.

Further, Mansbridge's home background and early employed life were grounded in the principles of Co-operation, and the early W.E.A. probably owed more to the Co-operative movement than it did to Oxford University in establishing the Association as a genuinely working class adult education movement. Earlier, the major successes of university extension courses in connection with the education of working people were in those centres at which the Co-operative Union accepted financial responsibility for the courses. At Rochdale, Stuart fortuitously discovered the method of providing class instruction which was later to be incorporated into the Tutorial Class system. Hudson Shaw, the most able and popular of university extension lecturers, believed that if his lecture courses were to be successful the assistance of local Co-operative societies was an indispensable condition.

It was to this well-founded tradition for liberal adult education that Mansbridge turned in 1903 for support in his attempt to create a partnership in adult education between the working people and the universities, and thus the direct intellectual link between the aims of the W.E.A. and Owen's belief in the centrality of education to the creation of a free democratic society can be traced through the enterprise of the Co-operative Union extending over a period of some sixty years.

Another connection with Owen's philosphy although less direct can also be traced to the conscious recognition of the university in its contribution to adult education as a means of personal and social emancipation. The first connection was with the Chartist movement. William Lovett, one of the architects of this fragmented radical political movement, was a member of the London Mechanics' Institute, and shared Owen's belief that the first duty of government was to education. Lovett, whose membership of an early

association of trade unions led to his publication of a pamphlet on education in 1837 which anticipated some of the demands of the early W.E.A. made by Mansbridge and Mactavish in 1907.

> "The working classes... have just cause of complaint against all partial systems of education" and education was demanded "not as a charity, but as a right, a right derivable from society itself".1

In Lovett's view education should begin with infancy and be continued into adult life. The people themselves should accumulate funds for education by voluntary contributions

> "gradually accumulating means of instruction and amusement and in devising sources of refined enjoyment to which millions are strangers. It would be industriously employed in politically, intellectually and morally training fathers, mothers, and children to know their rights and perform their duties. And with people so trained exclusive power, corruption and injustice would soon cease to have an existence".2

The failure of the Reform Act of 1832 to introduce the measures which the early trade unions had expected led to a new impetus for parliamentary and social reform and the Chartist movement. Many informal trade union political classes, modelled on the earlier Methodist and Quaker practice, were conducted to discuss the radical ideas and theories of Paine, Owen, Hodgskin, Godwin and other reformers. Members of mutual improvement societies were enjoined

> "But if we betake ourselves to the acquirement of knowledge, and make a book and men of intelligence our friends and companions, the chance will be greatly in our favour that we shall rise in the scale of society and be far better able to resist the thoughtless and unprincipled master".3

The influence of Chartism was evident in the founding of the Working Men's Colleges, first at Sheffield, and a decade later in London in 1854.

1. R. Peers op.cit. p.21.
2. Adult Education Committee Final Report op.cit. p.19.
3. 'The Tailor's Advocate' 6 December, 1845, quoted in R. Peers op.cit. p.21.

A group of Christian Co-operators seeking alternative expression of the educational idealism of the failed Chartist movement and simultaneously concerned about the possible materialism of Co-operation sought to establish an educational scheme based on the collegiality of shared learning between the teacher and student, impossible to achieve in the large audiences of Mechanics' Institutes and also to place the control and governance of the provision in the responsibility of the students. In 1854, in connection with Co-operative societies in London, the Working Men's College was established. Its originator, F.D.Maurice, then a professor at King's College and subsequently Professor of Moral Theology at Cambridge, conceived new objectives for the education of adults which were to influence subsequent thought and initiatives for the provision of adult education. Unlike Mechanics' Institutes the education to be provided was to be liberal and humane rather than technical. The emphasis on the Humanities was essentially a fundamental shift in the perspective of adult education and arose from Maurice's attitudes to the necessity to provide social regeneration on spiritual criteria; the relegation of mere information in preference to studies leading to the enrichment of the personality, and the creation of social unity through corporate responsibility made more urgent following the extension of the franchise. The ethical premises of Maurice's approach was an entirely new concept when applied to a collegial institution and one which attracted the support of many of his distinguished contemporaries such as Ruskin, Kingsley, Thomas Hughes, Rossetti, and Burne Jones who taught at the College.

"College" was deliberately included in the name because the founders, graduates of Oxford and Cambridge, sought to establish and foster a self-governing community of students and teachers, the latter giving their services without fee. Although the College succeeded in attracting working men who met the admission requirements of literacy and numeracy, the students were

also conscious of their educational deficiencies and sought to improve their employment prospects. Thus the demand was heavily on commercial and technical studies and although art, music, literature and History flourished under the inspiration of distinguished teachers the original intention to focus studies on the Humanities was not fully realised.

About fifteen working men's colleges were established, including Cambridge and Norwich, but most had disappeared within a decade. With the exception of Vaughan College, Leicester, which endured as a centre for liberal adult education, the others which survived did so as centres for vocational instruction and were absorbed into the local authority system later in the century. The influence of the relatively brief existence of the Working Men's Colleges and the ideals of Maurice and his other Christian Socialist colleagues were significant because they not merely differentiated between technical, vocational adult education with its utilitarian concepts and liberal education, but emphasised that the latter was essential to the personal emancipation of the individual and that the Chartist aim of social emancipation through education was institutionally practicable. Above all, there was a recognition that the educated members of society had a moral duty to share their knowledge and make it available to those deprived of education in a reciprocal relationship through an intrinsic fellowship as human beings. Thus:

> "Maurice endeavoured to bring together the universities and working men...He was quick to mark the emergence of two streams of desire and purpose - that which was beginning in the wish of some university men to share their treasures with the working people and that which among the more intellectual of the working people coveted knowledge - but as yet these had not found their way into mutual contact".1

Following his appointment to Cambridge University the link with Owen's ideas was forged as it is almost certain that Maurice's own ideas stimulated and influenced James Stuart. Stuart does not acknowledge any causal

1. B.A. Yeaxlee Spiritual Values in Adult Education Vol.1 O.U.P. 1925 p.274

relationship between Maurice and the formulation of his own ideas for university extension, but Welch records that as members of the same college, Trinity, both belonged to an academic discussion group, the Grote Club, to which Stuart was secretary for a period.[1] It is possible that Maurice, reflecting on his experience at the London Working Men's College, and the failure to secure the admission to university of those who were awarded its certificates of study might have considered the alternative of taking university teaching to the people.

Certainly, the idea had been advocated on a regular basis from the eighteen forties as a method of extending facilities for full-time university education provision which had begun in 1826 with London University and at Durham in 1832. From about 1850, and probably arising from the experience of Mechanics' Institutes, the extension of university education on a part-time basis was urged. William Sewell and, later, Jowett, both of Oxford University proposed the establishment of professorships and lectureships in large cities such as Manchester and Birmingham and in 1855, Lord Hervey of Cambridge University, advocated the appointment of four 'circuit' professors to provide courses in existing literary, scientific and mechanics' institutes. In 1858, when Owen's College was founded in Manchester, evening classes were part of its recognised teaching programme, a tradition continued into its existence as a federal member of Victroia University.[2] But it was through James Stuart that the recognised beginning of university participation in liberal adult education began in 1867, and through his efforts established the continuous connection between universities and voluntary organisations in liberal adult education which Maurice had sought to achieve and which had been conceived by William Lovett some forty years earlier.

1. Edwin Welch The Peripatetic University: Cambridge Local Lectures 1873-1973 C.U.P. 1973 pp.18-19.
2. T.Kelly Outside The Walls Manchester University Press 1950 Part I pp.3-8.

University extension proved to be the most important of those movements in the nineteenth century which attempted to provide liberal adult education. It was also the crucial link between the earlier vanguard of experimentation, largely under patronage, and the main column represented by the democratic, self-determining Workers' Educational Association. The W.E.A. was an adaptative response to changing social, political and economic conditions which arose in the final quarter of the nineteenth century. However, unlike earlier attempts, the W.E.A. represented a confluence of these main influences. In this it was unique and in its originator, Albert Mansbridge, there was a complex blend of all the major impulses.

The University Extension Movement

The development and history of the university extension movement has been well documented in its broad essentials.[1] Only its main features are considered here in connection with their relevance to earlier developments and to those elements which were important in the emergence of the W.E.A. and which were incorporated into its own characteristics of organisation and practice.

> "Vexed with the insufficiency of the single lecture system which had prevailed in connection with Mechanics' Institutes and Societies",[2]

James Stuart apparently conceived a scheme in 1866

> "to establish a sort of peripatetic university the professors of which would circulate among the big towns, and thus give a wider opportunity for receiving such teaching".[3]

1. W.H.Draper University Extension 1873-23 C.U.P. 1923
   James Stuart Reminiscences Chiswick Press 1911
   B.A. Clough Memoir of Anne Jemima Clough Arnold 1897
   R.D. Roberts Eighteen Years of University Extension C.U.P. 1891
   Mackinder & Sadler University Extension;Past, Present & Future Cassell 1891
   D.H.S.Cranage Not Only A Dean The Faith Press 1952
   E. Welch op.cit. R.G. Moulton "The University Extension Movement"
   Bemrose & Sons 1885
2. B.A. Yeaxlee op.cit. p.275
3. E. Welch op.cit. p.25.

Here again was another example of the incremental progress made in liberal adult education arising from dissatisfaction or deficiencies of existing provision.

For Stuart, the coincidence of conception and opportunity came through the invitation to provide courses of lectures to the recently formed North of England Council for Promoting the Higher Education of Women, at Leeds, Liverpool, Manchester and Sheffield. These were highly successful courses and led to further invitations to lecture at the Mechanics' Institute at Crewe and in 1869, significantly, to the Rochdale Equitable Pioneers' Society through which Stuart made his first contact with the Co-operative movement. It was also through other and later university extension classes arranged in association with the Co-operative movement in London that Albert Mansbridge first encountered the possibilities, and observed the limitations, of university extension.

Within three years Stuart sought the support of his University in furthering the success of his initial activities, and Cambridge established a syndicate to consider the possibilities of formally associating itself with university extension. During his first few years, Stuart had made very favourable impressions with a variety of organisations in the industrial Midlands and Northern England already active in providing adult education through existing institutions such as Mechanics' Institutes and Co-operative Societies.

In addition to the Rochdale Pioneers, he spoke at the Co-operative Conference at Bury in 1872, at the Mechanics' Institutes in Birmingham and Yorkshire and to engineers in Derbyshire. Memorials, or petitions, were organised from several of the towns which had welcomed Stuart's initiative, and these were presented to Cambridge University in support of Stuart's contention that a considerable demand existed for university extension

courses. The burden of the memorials was that all sections of the community, but especially working men, wished the University to arrange courses to be given by lecturers on a permanent basis to replace the existing discontinuous popular lectures by courses systematised to provide continuous study. In a flysheet to members of the University in 1871, Stuart stressed the need for systematic courses:

> "When these people cry for bread, a stone should not be given to them, as is too frequently the case with those popular lectures which are got up by Mechanics' Institutes and the like.
>
> These and Night-schools have been established... which can never be superseded by anything in the whole province of education. The point at which such Lectures and Night-schools are at fault is different in each. True education must be continuous, and must be given by a man of thorough attainments... Isolated pieces of instruction can never be truly educational".[1]

The main petitions came from Birmingham, Leeds, Nottingham and Crewe and in 1873 the University's Syndicate, considered the proposed scheme and met deputations from the petitioning towns. These must have been a series of particularly interesting meetings as Stuart later wrote:

> "There never was such a deputation at the University before - fancy the Masters of Colleges and representatives of trades unions laying their heads together to negotiate a means of raising the state of the people's Education!"[2]

From these occasions one is led to conclude that the Oxford Conference in 1907 was not the unique occasion of 'labour and learning' it was subsequently claimed to be. The Syndicate reported favourably on the establishment of a university extension scheme, for an initial period of two years, but refused to allow any charge to fall on University funds, a decision which was later to deflect one original intention of university extension away from the working class student and lead to the genesis of the W.E.A.

1. E. Welch op.cit. pp35-36
2. ibid p.43

It is clear that university extension was intended to embrace all sections of the adult community, with the important objectives of concentrating on artisan groups and the education of women. By 1874, university extension courses were so successful that two organising lecturers were appointed to arrange and conduct courses, and were prototype appointments of the later resident organising tutor. Moore Ede, the organising lecturer for the Midlands, in a report in 1875, emphasised the advantages of ten or twelve-lecture courses over the usual miscellaneous pattern of single lectures characteristic of the Mechanics' Institutes, and further suggested that such courses should be arranged to provide continuous instruction over a period of three years. Successful completion of these extended courses, and examinations of students should be recognised by the award of a new degree, Associate of Cambridge, which would exempt holders from one year's residence at the University if they wished to proceed to a traditional Cambridge degree. His novel proposals were largely derived from his experience with working class adults, and about those he had met in Nottingham he wrote:

> "...when it is borne in mind what a large proportion of the students are busily engaged in offices and workshops the whole day, it is no bad criterion of the value of this means of education to them, that we find them after a severe day's toil turning out week after week to sit for an hour or two to listen to lectures on some branch of study in which they happen to be interested....Week after week many of them devote much of their leisure time to writing their answers, and, when one looks over the frequently ill-spelt sheet, the formation of the letters tells that the hands which have guided the pens are but little accustomed to such a task, and it becomes difficult to mark as wrong that which has cost so much toil and trouble. A further proof is to be found in the fact that the Nottingham Trades Unions have subscribed to the support of the lectures and also become Guarantors. In Keighley the Co-operative Society purchased a number of tickets which were balloted for among its members".[1]

1. E.Welch op.cit.pp58-60 Moore Ede's report is extensively quoted by the author to indicate the distinctive contribution made by university extension vis a vis Mechanics' Institutes, and to illustrate some of the difficulties and possibilities which had arisen from the first two years of the Syndicate's approved scheme. He does not indicate its significance in anticipating the later work of the W.E.A.

Moore Ede's description of the composition of the adult classes and of the written work was later to be virtually duplicated by many tutors of W.E.A. Tutorial and One Year classes and clearly indicates that in its early phase the university extension movement attempted with some success to provide adult education for those groups which some thirty years later the W.E.A. claimed an exclusive concern through the Tutorial Class movement, and revived the flagging interest of the universities in making a contribution specifically to working class education.

In 1876, London, Oxford in 1878, and Victoria Universities adopted similar schemes for university extension courses and by the mid-eighteen nineties over 60,000 people attended lectures and courses, but a decline in the number of centres and attendances reduced the enrolments by one-quarter in the following decade. In fact, at Cambridge the decline was discernible by 1890. The reasons are attributed to the rigorous financial policies of G.F. Browne who succeeded Stuart as Secretary to the Syndicate. Browne insisted that centres should be financially self-sufficient; but most of the centres had recurring annual deficits. From its inception, the university extension movement had encountered difficulties over finance. The three original centres under the Syndicate's scheme, Derby, Nottingham, and Leicester, had deficits on lecture courses from their beginning in 1873. The relatively high costs of the lecturers' fees, their travelling expenses, hire of rooms and advertising were not matched by the sale of tickets or the sums raised by donations; guarantors were frequently required to meet the deficits incurred. At Nottingham for example, donations of almost £350 were required to meet the deficit in 1874; at Derby the deficit was £265, and at Keighley the courses were discontinued in 1875 because of recurring deficits.[1]

1. E. Welch op.cit. pp.82-83

The key to survival, as earlier for the Mechanics' Institutes, lay in the provision of 'popular' lectures on interesting and attractive topics given by lecturers guaranteed to provide stimulating, entertaining talks, which would attract large audiences. Stuart's aim of providing courses balanced between arts and science subjects disappeared within fifteen years of the introduction of university extension schemes under the imperative of financial self-sufficiency, and the relatively high costs of tickets led to the withdrawal of the lower-paid. This proved to be the main reason for the failure of university extension to attract and maintain the support of manual workers.

The charge for a term's lectures not infrequently amounted to a third of the weekly wage for some manual workers and even more for women similarly employed.[1] R.D. Roberts, then Assistant Secretary to the Cambridge Syndicate, stated the difficulty very clearly in his report for 1883:

> "...the great obstacle to the wider extension of the Local Lectures Movement is not the absence of a demand for or interest in education, but the difficulty of obtaining funds to meet the expenses...This difficulty presses most heavily upon just that section of the community which would be most benefitted by the adoption of the scheme viz. the wage-earning population".[2]

In some Cambridge centres, although the day-time courses were exclusively middle class and especially well-supported by women, for whom the university extension movement was a uniquely liberating influence and an unqualified success, the evening courses provided a cross-section of the community. Roberts and Kelly give examples of centres where the cost of tickets for evening courses was low to encourage the attendance of manual workers, often

1. In Nottingham for example, women earned between eight and sixteen shillings a week in the hosiery trade and men between twenty five and thirty five shillings a week, and the costs of tickets varied between five shillings and a guinea, the latter usually for morning or afternoon courses and the former for evening courses.
2. E. Welch op.cit. p.79

assisted through the philanthropic generosity of Co-operative societies, manufacturers and mine-owners.[1] A course on Tyneside in Political Economy in 1879 provided such an example where in the end-of-course examinations, first place went to a miner and the second to the daughter of a local industrialist. Mansbridge was later to confirm the importance of some university extension courses for "thoughtful working people" both to those attending and the lecturers:

> "University men of the highest quality readily went to industrial towns in the north, and not only lectured but made friends with their audiences and so entered into understanding of the condition of working class life".[2]

But such occasions were comparatively rare.

Generally, and in contrast to university extension practice, the importance of an understanding of the conditions and aspirations of working class people by members of the universities was to be of particular significance to the early support given to the W.E.A. by university men. The first indications of this mutual regard and understanding became evident only through the introduction of the Summer Meeting, modelled on an American Methodist Summer Camp meeting, or Chautauqua, imported by J.B. Paton and developed by M.E. Sadler, then Secretary to the Oxford University Extension Society. The first Summer Meeting, held at Oxford in 1888 and attended by about a thousand students of university extension classes, provided lectures, discusion and opportunities for individual study. Cambridge adopted the practice in 1890 and from 1893, Summer Meetings were held in alternate years at each University. These proved to be important social as well as study opportunities for students in classes and when Tutorial Classes were established the idea was extended as Summer Schools for W.E.A. students pursuing the three-year courses, providing intensive periods of study and

1. T. Kelly op.cit. 1970 p.225; E. Welch op.cit.p.79
2. A. Mansbridge "The Trodden Road" op.cit. p.52

teaching at universities and functioning as important unifying occasions for members of the W.E.A. The major differences between Summer Meetings and Summer Schools were largely linked to the intensity of the studies, and the social composition of the groups who attended. It was the Summer School which emphasised the individual study opportunity and which had the larger working class element.

University extension brought some of the aims and endeavours of earlier movements to a new peak of achievement through the commitment of universities to an unprecedented recognition of their extra-mural function and provided an effective way of undertaking adult education. Its new contributions to liberal adult education were notable. The introduction of printed syllabuses, class instruction for small groups of eager, intelligent people, some lacking formal education, the importance of written work and continuous study was not merely recognised but emphasised by Cambridge but not at Oxford; and the acceptance that teachers should be men of proved academic worth and sensitive to the needs of their adult students. Finally, the opportunity for continuing study at university although not possible for the majority of students might at least be introduced through the novelty of short periods of residential study at the Summer Meeting and the continuation of self-development.

It was also important in that its main period of success broadly coincided with the development in local authorities of greater responsibility for technical and vocational education following the Technical Instruction Act of 1889. Following this Act, University Extension Lecturers were initially employed in the upsurge of local authority provision of science courses for a few years mainly between 1891 and 1894, but the high standard of the lectures was not entirely appropriate for the audiences and the charges made by, for example, the Cambridge Syndicate unacceptably high for the local authorities

who quickly arranged courses under their own control more satisfactory in both subject content and costs. The Syndicate withdrew from these ventures without regret since they had diverted staff and attention from its well-established practice and predilection for liberal, humane studies.[1]

Of greater duration and value were the arrangements whereby possession of a university extension sessional certificate was recognised as a contributory qualification in the training of pupil-teachers, whose fees were met by school boards, established under the 1870 Education Act. This development, introduced in 1894, appeared to meet some of the educational needs of the apprenticed pupil-teacher and many courses were arranged specifically for this purpose. This enterprise led to criticisms of unfair advantage conferred upon pupil-teachers who had access to university extension courses with the result that the Board of Education withdrew recognition of the sessional certificates in 1906.

The combination of the withdrawal of local authority support; the growth in the number of pupil-teacher courses; the emphasis on financial self-sufficiency and the necessity to charge adequately high fees; the preference for liberal humane subjects, and the decline in the number of lecturers, experienced and prepared to undertake university extension engagements on a full-time basis led to a gradual decline in courses providing continuous study and in the number of University extension centres. Direct appeals to the Chancellor of the Exchequer for state grant-aid for university extension centres in 1893 and 1894 were unsuccessful and it became possible for grants to be earned on some university extension courses only following the Education Act of 1902.

1. E.Welch op.cit. pp.87-92 contains details of courses provided in Kent, Devon, Cambridgeshire and Norfolk.
   See Chapter 3 for reference to these courses in connection with early initiatives in rural education.

The central importance of finance to the success or failure of university extension centres underlined its major inherent weakness, which led to discontinuous, popular lectures attractive to large audiences. It also lacked the dynamism of a clear unifying social objective which became increasingly obvious with the withering of Stuart's original objectives of providing his 'peripatetic university' for the continued education of working people. This feature was clearly recognisable in the support which women gave to university extension. For them social emancipation led to the political suffrage movement in 1903 and educational emancipation became a reality when universities and teacher-training colleges became accessible to them towards the end of the century. Prior to this realisation, women's organisations arranged university extension courses, to satisfy a demand for their continued education, a characteristic absent elsewhere in university extension but which provided the momentum for the rise and vigour of the W.E.A. particularly evident in the arrangements for Tutorial Classes, and the Oxford Report 1908, considered below.

For working men, the social dynamic came through the trade union movement, the extension of suffrage in 1867 and 1884, the election of the first two 'Labour' Members of Parliament in 1900 and fifty 'Lib-Lab M.P.'s' following the General Election of 1906. For men, the success of the direct political action was self-evident. The progress which had been made in the final quarter of the century was impressive and beyond the hopes of the previous generation encapsulated in Cruickshank's cartoon of the 'British Beehive', with its caricature of rigid class structure, published in 1867. Pension schemes, health insurance, salaried M.P.'s, and the curtailment of the political power of the House of Lords were testimonies of progress towards

a more domocratic society. The political strength of organised workers' movements was reflected in the establishment of the Trades Union Congress in 1868.[1]

Apart from the university extension movement, ultimately to which only a tiny minority of working people were attracted, other forms of adult education provision were supported for their utility. Commercial and technical classes existed to provide opportunities for increased vocational skills training beyond the compulsory elementary education stage. Only in 1902 did the Education Act begin to encourage development in the maintained sector of secondary education. However, prior to the Act of 1902, there was a major gap in provision between the elementary stage and adult education for the majority of people, and later Mansbridge was to say that the work of the W.E.A. was based on the work of the elementary school and the associations of working people.[2]

Other than in vocational education, courses for adults were largely provided through university extension and about 50,000 adults attended lectures during the first decade of this century. In this enterprise, the older universities were joined by some of the newer foundations such as Liverpool, where the University Extension Society was established only in 1899.[3] Most of the courses were either for the general public but on the basis of costs alone they excluded working people, or for pupil-teachers and there was a gradual decline from 1908 as the Tutorial Class movement organised by the universities jointly with the W.E.A. deliberately provided a more genuine working class opportunity. At Cambridge, the Syndicate's university extension courses declined from 102 in 1900 to 80 in 1913.

1. L. Birch (Ed) The History of the T.U.C. 1868-1968 Hamlyn 1968
   H. Pelling History of British Trade Unionism Penguin 1963
2. A. Mansbridge, The Kingdom of the Mind Dent 1944 p.61
3. V. Williams the Society for University Extension in Liverpool & District 1899-1910 unpublished thesis Manchester University, 1959

Even before a decline was discernible, there was a rising criticism of the failure of university extension courses to meet the expressed needs of working people. The Co-operative Union expanded its own provision rapidly in the final decade of the nineteenth century in response to demands for an alternative, and organised some of its courses in conjunction with the Oxford Delegacy, but the main interest appeared to exist in practical classes such as domestic economy. Apparently, the main reason for the failure to respond more positively even to Co-operative Union classes was a lack of response from members rather than problems of costs of courses to the audiences.

Another alternative response was the foundation of Ruskin Hall (later College) in Oxford in 1899. One of the original intentions was to enable working class students to become part of a national scheme of education through courses and correspondence tuition offered a low charge. By 1902, about 4000 students had registered for correspondence courses with some ninety self-directing classes of students meeting to discuss preparation for the required monthly essays. Sometimes both lecture and correspondence courses were provided jointly by Ruskin Hall and Co-operative societies. Partnership between Ruskin Hall and the university extension authorities was rejected on the grounds that the latter:

> "...is essentially a middle-class movement tending strongly toward becoming a woman's movement, and its very fitness for this work explains its failure to reach the working man ...it is not adapted to that particular form of activity".1

Even as early as 1872, it is evident from the memorials to Cambridge that Stuart's early assessment had been accurate in its assumption about the existence of a genuine interest and willingness to provide courses for working people. Further, the interests of such courses were relevant if

1. Ruskin College Young Oxford Vols.1-4 passim.

the lecturers were:

> "men who could attract and really teach working men..... thorough masters of their subject, and able not only to lecture, but also discuss questions raised in the class...on considering the... native intelligence of the artisans of the locality and the continual discussion of political and social questions among them". 1

Thus the Nottingham memorial which identified three principles which the W.E.A. were to incorporate in its own policy for Tutorial Classes some thirty five years later: the importance of tutors of considerable ability, capable of discussing topical questions raised by their students, and the emphasis of the social sciences. At Leeds, the emphasis was on the:

> "the continuance of general culture, and many youths would gladly avail themselves of facilities for keeping up and extending knowledge acquired at school". 2

The need was identified as being among the young business and professional men of the city rather than artisan occupational groups. At Crewe, the emphasis was on the skilled artisan who had found that the existing lectures at the Mechanics' Institute:

> "are frequently popular in tone and aim rather at providing rational amusement than at arousing the mind to active exertion". The lack of continuity was regretted and "the absence of any means of following up and making permanent whatever slight impression may be produced by the Lecture, it results that we have not made as much progress in the mental and moral improvement of our population as we might have done under better auspices". 3

It is apparent from the memorials from three widely dispersed industrial centres that university extension in the form in which Stuart had originally conceived it was likely to meet with support from all sections of society. To meet the disparate needs separate courses were considered, and in several centres courses were duplicated in afternoon and evening sessions. In others it proved to be unnecessary as in the North of

1. R.D. Roberts op.cit. Chapter VII passim
2. E. Welch op.cit. p.38
3. ibid

England, especially, where the Co-operative societies and committees of working men purchased blocks of tickets at reduced fees.

> "The results of this experiment are highly successful, as proving that artisans will avail themselves of the lectures, if the fees are low enough and the management is placed in the hands of a committee of their own class". 1

The response was even greater where the subjects taught and

> "the method of teaching have come into some kind of real relation with the every day life of the people". 2

Generally however, working people were limited in their ability to profit from the courses through the limitations of their educational background, a problem which had existed in connection with the technical courses offered in the early period of the Mechanics' Institutes; a continuing regime of almost constant over-time working and, of course, by the fees charged for the courses. Further, the demand for university extension courses was not as spontaneous or as extensive as early writers such as Roberts claimed. The university extension movement was not a reflection of a demand for mass education, and, indeed, no adult education movement has ever achieved that distinction in this country. Even the Education Act of 1870 was inspired more by the necessity for an educated labour force than a response to a universal demand from the educationally disenfranchised. It was necessary to introduce compulsion over attendance of pupils in the Education Act, 1876; that of 1891 abolished fees to encourage attendance and the 1893 Education Act attempted to raise the age of exemption from school attendance to eleven years. These four acts were designed to ensure that a "conscripted army" became an accepted responsibility of the State which were provided with a "militia training" in rudimentary literacy and numeracy to educate what H.G. Wells described as "the lower classes for employment". 3

1. R.D. Roberts op.cit. pp.14-15
2. Ibid
3. G.A.N. Lowndes The Silent Social Revolution O.U.P. 1937 pp.4-5: Lowndes quotation of Wells is taken from the latter's Experiment in Autobiography

To attract more people and reduce fees, Oxford introduced short courses of six lectures, half the length of those pioneered by Cambridge; London even had some courses of only three lectures. The results were similar to those experienced in the later stages of the Mechanics' Institutes - large audiences on popular subjects. From these some longer courses arose. At Cambridge the Syndicate encouraged some of four years' duration with examinations and diplomas awarded on essays written during the course. It is interesting to observe a similar adaptation of the W.E.A. and university extra-mural departments in the inter-war period to changing demand and provision away from the rigours of, and commitment to, the three year tutorial class to encourage enrolment in short, introductory courses in the hope of encouraging students to follow on to more advanced studies over a longer time-scale. Nevertheless, within the university extension movement new features in the development of adult education were observable and recognised as distinct advances on previous attempts in provision. As early as 1891, Mackinder and Sadler observed:

> "We claim that it (university extension) contains all the elements required in a great teaching system, the personal touch with the teacher, the reading of selected books, the writing of essays, and their criticism, discussion in the class and in the Students' Association, the test of the examination". 1

With the exception of the examination the proposals for which were abandoned when the sought after reforms for admissions to Oxford University failed all these elements were incorporated into the tutorial class system almost twenty years later and the W.E.A. unquestionably drew heavily on those outstandingly successful features of university extension. Further, the main period of university extension which covered a quarter of a century from 1873 provided a testing ground for several new ideas for the teaching of adults, particularly in the matter of discussion classes following the lecture, the submission of written work and, unlike the Mechanics' Institutes, the emphasis on the Humanities.

1. Mackinder & Sadler op.cit p.96

Within five years, Stuart's initiative led to three developments which characterised university extension and which later were adopted by the W.E.A. First, his practice of distributing notes on the themes of his lectures developed into printed syllabuses. Second, written work arose from his circulation during the first series of lectures from a set of questions to his audiences and on which he received written answers the following week. Third, the practice of holding a discussion class emerged from a casual incident at Rochdale where diagrams which he required for the following week's lecture were left on display and were discussed by members of his course between the lectures.[1]

At first, it was also noticeable that where working people were attracted to courses there was an emphasis on topics in social and political matters which was later submerged beneath the emphasis on more overtly cultural, literary and historical subjects as the audiences became almost exclusively middle class and female. Perhaps above all, university extension provided a continuative broadening link between earlier efforts to provide an essentially utilitarian form of adult education through the Mechanics' Institutes and the conscious policy of the W.E.A. to provide courses in serious and sustained study in subjects which were relevant to adults with an immediate concern for the social, economic and political issues of a country making hesitant progress towards a more fully egalitarian society.

1. E. Welch op.cit.p.46 In 1873 Stuart's plan for university extension lectures included the following prescriptions: "The teacher to remain in the Lecture-room for some time after the conclusion of each Lecture and Class in order to answer questions, or solve the difficulties which have occurred to pupils, and to give advice as to the reading of text-books and other means of efficiently studying the subject" and "East Lecture to be accompanied at the discretion of the teacher by a syllabus distributed to the pupils, and by questions. Those who desire to answer these questions to do so in writing at home, and to be at liberty to submit their answers to the teacher for correction and comment". Further, "The Class in each subject to consist of those who are desirous to studying it more fully... The teaching in the Class to be more conversational than in the lecture".

This development matched to a significant degree the attitudes of the Co-operative movement towards a democratic organisation of society founded on ethical and liberal values, and it was not surprising that both the Co-operative movement and Maurice's educational philosophy for the liberalising effect of the Humanities in establishing the Working Men's College in London, contemporaneous with the spread of the Co-operative movement, should have come together later in the century to provide some of the most successful courses in the university extension movement. It seems almost inevitable, too, that the first of the two Tutorial Classes should have been arranged at Rochdale with its continuous existence and provision for adult education since 1844.

University extension failed in the assumption that it was the sole responsibility of the universities to provide the education for adults determined unilaterally by them and not in co-operation with the students, existing or potential. Undoubtedly, in the first decade or so of university extension there could have been little advantage in contemplating a partnership between university extension authorities and organised groups of working people, simply because the effects of universal elementary education had not worked through the system into adult life in a recognisably organised way. The trade unions were pre-occupied with their relations with employers and improved conditions of employment for their members, rather than with education. There was little interest in education as an important factor in social emancipation and it was only in 1898 that the T.U.C. endorsed its first full resolution in support of equality of educational opportunity.[1] Even at the Oxford Conference of 1907, the university members of the W.E.A. appeared to adopt an attitude of altruistic patronage in the provision of university extension courses for working people. It was Mactavish's speech alone which provided a public rejection of this traditional attitude, even

1. L. Birch (Ed) op.cit.p.34

though Mansbridge had based his founding principles of the W.E.A. on the triumvirate of co-partnership between working people, the universities and the co-operative movement and which had begun to evolve at Reading and Rochdale from 1904 onwards.

This was to be the central, unique contribution of the W.E.A. The decision about the subject of study, the acceptability of the tutor, and the organisation of the student body was vested in those students committing themselves to the three year course of study. The university's role was to provide the course of study, agreed in discussion with the student-body and not imposed upon it, and local organisations such as co-operative societies, trade unions or W.E.A. Branches were to undertake to provide both students and contribute the funds necessary to meet the local share of the costs. On this final matter, the universities were to adapt to the new situation in an attempt to overcome the major practical difficulty in attracting working people experienced in earlier university extension courses. The costs of such courses had been a prohibitive factor for working people and in recognition of the necessity to overcome this, Oxford University accepted responsibility for a substantial portion of the costs involved at Rochdale and Longton and created the situation in which Tutorial Classes for working people could succeed in a way in which Browne's inflexible attitude at Cambridge had prevented more than twenty years earlier. The success of the W.E.A. lay in its ability to attract and unite in one organisation the most important educational and working class interests existing at the beginning of the twentieth century. It is doubtful if this would have been possible if there had been no university extension movement. It also uniquely combined most of the discrete influences which had inspired the provision of a variety of forms which adult education had assumed during the previous century and which had influenced those anonymous students who had sought personal and social emancipation through some form of education in their adult lives.

The Workers' Educational Association

In 1887, Canon Barnett, Warden of Toynbee Hall, suggested that adult students needed a tutorial system to facilitate their studies and by 1900 he had developed that idea, from his own experience during the previous two years, in the form of tutorial classes:

> "limited in numbers, but will provide for more thorough and systematic teaching than is possible in a course of lectures". 1

Three successful classes were established on this basis in 1900. Tawney had experience at Toynbee Hall as a tutor and Mansbridge was a resident nearby and met Canon Barnett in 1903 when seeking advice and support for ideas which were beginning to take shape for a closer alliance between university extension and working people.

At that time, Mansbridge, then aged 27, was employed as a clerk in the offices of the Co-operative Wholesale Society at Whitechapel and as a part-time teacher of Co-operative History with a local Society. He was also a student in university extension classes and was conscious from both kinds of educational experience that there were deficiencies in the provision of university extension courses and their failure to attract the support of working people. His first attempt to argue for a closer alliance at the Oxford Summer Meeting in 1899 had failed, but he had later been invited to contribute an article to the University Extension Journal. In 1903, three articles were published between January and May in which his proposals although not then formulated into a clear scheme gradually emerged as a development of the original idea of a closer alliance into an organisation which would provide the mechanism for its achievement.

In the second of the articles, Mansbridge returned to the early nineteenth century equation between knowledge and power and gave it a contemporary context of the working classes accession to power. The dangers of their being misled by intemporate leaders was linked to a lawsuit of considerable interest

1. T. Kelly op.cit 1970, p.242

and topicality which arose from the Taff Vale Railway Strike of 1901, in which the union had been successfully sued by the railway company and which had damaged the political status and partially discredited trade unionism. Political power was passing into new hands. The importance of education in the mature, wide exercise of that power was an important issue and in 1908 the Oxford Report made much of it in stressing its own traditional contribution to the nation's leadership and the continuing responsibility to do so for the leaders of working people. It could "claim an urgency which it may be held formerly not to have possessed".[1] Further, the self-appointed role of Oxford University meant that the accessibility of the University should be improved to admit working people with new political and civic responsibilities:

> "The Trade Union Secretary and the 'Labour Member' need an Oxford Education as much, and will use it to as good ends, as the civil servant or the barrister... we are strongly of the opinion that recent political developments make it imperative that in her (i.e. Oxford's) own interest, as much as in the interests of working people it should be possible for a far larger number to turn to her for teaching than have done so in the past". 2

Here was a reflection of a social purpose for the University which Sewell in the middle of the nineteenth century and Jowett some twenty years later had advocated together with a candid admission that in turn, the new developments had an important contribution to make to the University.

In 1903, Mansbridge, although it is doubtful if he then fully realised the significance of the articles in the University Extension Journal, was pressing not merely for a closer relationship between university extension and working people, but also for a re-appraisal of conventional social attitudes and values towards the changing conditions of working people in their increased political power at national and local levels. The role of the universities

1. Oxford and Working Class Education op.cit. p.47
2. Ibid p.48

was crucial, a view held independently by a group of young Oxford tutors who believed a reform of the University was urgently needed to democratise its student-entry and improve academic standards.[1]

In the first article, Mansbridge had referred to the doubtful benefits of elementary education and its superficiality. Inadequate in its provision and incomplete in its purpose it had failed to create a society which thought about its development as a democratic state. Trade unionism and the Co-operative movement were the agents of democracy but it was the universities which could provide the full and true education which would inform and illuminate the thinking of the new leaders: political power should be brought into educational union with the universities. The university extension movement had achieved some success in a limited way through its joint provision with the Co-operative movement and this partnership would be strengthened if the trade union movement were also brought into an educational troika since it had no educational organisation of its own.

When he wrote the first article, Mansbridge:

> "had little or no idea of organising a movement, but it soon became clear that I should either have to do it myself or induce someone else to do so". 2

He had begun to plan an educational alliance between the three main groups at Christmas 1902 which:

> "In the course of these articles revealed itself as a working alliance between Co-operation, Trade Unionism and University Extension. A triple cord is not easily broken". 3

But first the triple cord had to be made; for a variety of reasons already considered, earlier attempts had failed.

1. This group, known as the Catilene Club, is considered briefly in Chapter 2.
2. A.Mansbridge An Adventure in Working Class Education op.cit.p.11
3. Ibid p.11

Mansbridge's unique concept was in the recognition of a genuinely participative commitment by working people to adult education; sought by Maurice but not realised. The demand for education had to be matched by the provision in a partnership of equality and not patronage. The Co-operative movement, which Mansbridge knew thoroughly, was a democratic one, mature and balanced in its attitudes to education, recognising its importance for both children and adults. Mansbridge believed co-operative education should join a strengthened partnership with university extension for the teaching of Economics, Industrial History, and Political Science.

But such a partnership in itself was insufficient simply because the majority of working people were neither students of university extension courses nor members of co-operative societies. Although trade unionism had made little attempt to encourage adult education, it was its political importance and growing strength which Mansbridge considered essential if social and personal emancipation were to combine with education in the creation of the socially just and democratic state. For Mansbridge, education was life itself as it was lived. It was not to be confused with its instrument, knowledge, which would be used to promote the common good and not narrowly and selfishly in the acquisition of the means for personal gain and aggrandisement. Education for social mobility had no place in Mansbridge's philosophy. Education was

> "a common upon which all men can meet and exercise rights, no matter what their differences may be in the ordinary activities of life," and its appeal was a spiritual one "..education is ultimately of the spirit and is perceived by the spirit only". 1

In Mansbridge there was a fascinating combination of influences. He had achieved the rare distinction of winning a scholarship to Battersea Grammar School in 1887 but the possibility of a university education was excluded on financial grounds and at the age of fourteen became an office boy. The

1. Ibid p. XV

following year he enrolled for his first university extension course one of several he subsequently attended. The family environment was religious, initially chapel and later Anglican. It was no mere formality of conventional observance and Mansbridge, at the remarkably young age of eighteen, became a licensed Lay Reader. He was also a superintendent of both a Sunday School and Band of Hope, and the religious conviction which marked his early life was to sustain him throughout and thus his attitude towards education was essentially a spiritual rather than a utalitarian one. His attitude to education was also one of social regeneration. The family were also active Co-operators and the sense of mutual responsibility, thrift and brotherhood were inter-twined with the spiritual impulse.

> "I was a compound of the effects of early chapel, co-operative and University Extension influence, which had been caught up and focused in the supreme influence of great preachers at Westminster". 1

A desire for ordination and the possibility of a university education led him to sit unsuccessfully for a scholarship at Oriel, where two Co-operative exhibitions were endowed and his hopes:

> "ever since my schooldays I had thought of the university as a promised land which some day I might by a miracle enter."

were unrealised, and with it vanished the combined ambition for a university course and Holy Orders. With these frustrations, it is hardly surprising that Mansbridge during his early years of the W.E.A. sedulously cultivated the support of both Oxford University and leaders of the Anglican Church who had influenced his thinking during his late adolescence.

In the second and third articles he made his triple cord. The universities would devise a scheme for the education of working people with the local organisation in the hands of the Co-operative movement. With the combined initiatives of these two forces, the trade unions would be brought

1. A. Mansbridge The Trodden Road Dent 1940 p.36

into the alliance through a committee on which all three interests would be represented. The role of the trade unions would be to confer official recognition on the arrangements; a matter foreseen as likely to be protracted and difficult since there was considerable suspicion of the middle class attitudes and patronage of the existing university extension movement. Mansbridge called for a trusting relationship in which education would lead to wisdom and to an ordered, just democracy.

In his final article Mansbridge called for an "Association" to be formed. Self-governing, representative of the three main interests, its purpose would be to prepare the way for, and encourage participation in, university extension courses through a new set of relationships with the principle of parity at its core. The essential pivotal organisation was, of course, the Co-operative Union. It had existing links with university extension, its membership predominantly trade unionists and it was the only organisation with funds specifically available for education - a matter of crucial importance if the deficiencies of the existing university extension system were to be surmounted.

Although the appeal was emotional rather than a rationally designed approach, the articles attracted much favourable comment. Halstead, Secretary of the Co-operative Producers' Association, and a leading Co-operator supported the ideas suggesting that trades councils were likely to prove to be more responsive than trade unions, as the Co-operative Union had already discovered when arranging its own extensive programmes for adult education.

Encouraged by Holland Rose, then editor of the University Extension Journal and who had invited him to contribute the articles, Halstead and Canon Barnett, Mansbridge and his wife formed the "Association to Promote the Higher Education of Working Men" on 16, May 1903 in a celebratedly formal

ritual in their home.[1] There was an immediate membership within a Christian Economic Society, a small group of working men who met regularly at Mansbridge's house.

Initially at least, Marriott, Cranage and Hartog, Secretaries for University Extension at Oxford, Cambridge and Manchester respectively, strongly supported Mansbridge, and agreed to publish the original articles as the first W.E.A. pamphlet. Their generous and unequivocal support was extremely important, especially that of Marriott, in the first few months and years. It was also a matter of self-interest as the university extension movement was declining and as it had failed to attract working people, the prospect of a new vigorous revival of one of its original objectives was immediately attractive.

Marriott offered to arrange the inaugural meeting of the new Association during the summer meeting in August 1903 and to consider the draft constitution and agenda for a conference with the assistance of friends and members of Mansbridge's Christian Economic Society, all of whom were co-operators or trade unionists but not delegates of any organisation.

The Conference in August 1903 formally established the new Association and as it was held during the Summer Meeting, all the important members of the university extension movement were present including Cranage. They also warmly supported Mansbridge. Marriott believed that in its origins, university extension had failed to attract working people from whom the initiatives had to come. Halstead believed the new Association was necessary because existing working class organisations, the co-operatives and the trade unions, created for purposes other than education were increasingly pre-occupied

1. T.W. Price The Story of the Workers' Educational Association 1903-24. The Labour Publishing Co.Ltd. 1924 p.16.

with primary objectives, and the education of their members was of secondary importance. Thus a special movement for this purpose was necessary.

With support from the universities and organised working class bodies the Association was formally established to provide a link between both interests and representative of their mutual interests and responsibilities. The executive committee of eight members reflected these objectives: four from the universities active in the provision of university extension - Cambridge, Oxford, London and Manchester, two trade unionists, and two Co-operators. Mansbridge, there was a representative of the Co-operative movement was appointed Honorary Secretary.[1]

Amongst several other meetings held to consider how the new Association might through local committees arrange university extension courses under conditions which would be attractive to working class organisations the most important was the one in Reading in 1904, where the first local committee was formed and which became the model for future W.E.A. Branches. The Reading Committee sought to stimulate interest among working people through increased provision by the Borough Education Committee and the University College, made possible under the Education Act of 1902 which enabled the new L.E.A. to provide or aid the provision of education other than elementary. Constitutionally, the control of the "Association for the Advancement of the Higher Education of the Working Classes in Reading" was in the hands of local representatives of workers' organisations: and thus the first branch of the new Association established the principles adopted by other W.E.A. Branches. The Chairman and Secretary of the Reading Association were members of the Co-operative movement and the local committee reflected the interests of that movement and local trade unions. Significantly, the Secretary of the Education Committee of the L.E.A. and the Principal of the University College were

1. ibid p.17

ex-officio members of the committee and not in positions of direct authority. The principle of control by working people, as potential students, of their own educational initiative was thus immediately established.

The pattern of individual membership, affiliation of societies introduced at Reading and its constitution were adopted the following year at Derby, Woolwich, Ilford and Rochdale. At Rochdale, the successful Evening Lectures Committee decided to affiliate to the new Association and formed a local Branch of the new Association under the name of the Rochdale Educational Guild in succession to its previous existence as a flourishing university extension centre. Within a few months, fifty local organisations had affiliated to the new Guild, about one-half of them of a voluntary educational nature.

In 1905-06, the Rochdale Guild arranged two university extension courses with attendances in excess of 500, the famous short course for the Carters Union, reading circles, lectures in outlying districts, and short courses specifically for women. As at Reading, the L.E.A. provided courses, as well financially assisting others. The success at Rochdale and at Reading indicated the possibilities for adult education under the new Association's arrangements and by 1906 there were 13 W.E.A. Branches and 50 in 1908. However, the experience of direct provision of, and financial support for, courses by the L.E.A. proved to be exceptional and uncommon.

The extraordinary success in both towns, especially at Rochdale with its published educational calendar to co-ordinate and publicise arrangements, was of considerable significance. Hudson Shaw, one of the most able, popular and experienced lecturers in university extension, who had provided one of the 1905 Rochdale courses declared that for twenty years he had awaited the appearance of audiences of predominantly working people and believed his

Rochdale audience was "nothing less than a miracle".[1]

However, the success of the Rochdale classes created new problems in that the size of the audiences prevented any method of providing continuous study as the classes following the lectures were also much too large to be practicable propositions. Discussion was impossible when up to 200 members wished to participate and as large audiences were necessary for financial success, it was clear that some new arrangements had to be devised. The difficulty was not unique to Rochdale. At Birmingham, the W.E.A. Branch had proposed courses extending over two or three years to provide continuous study and a recommendation to this effect was endorsed at the annual meeting of the W.E.A. in 1907. A conference at London University in 1906 had agreed that a tutorial system for small groups of students should be established.[2] Earlier, in 1905, Mansbridge had claimed that the W.E.A. would fail unless intensive class teaching of university standard were provided.[3]

Although there was general agreement on the necessity to develop classes of this type, their provision appear to be baulked by the inevitable problem of finance and organisation, although some classes of this type had been arranged by Canon Barnett at Toynbee Hall in 1898. The Rochdale Guild's difficulties were overcome by Mansbridge's promise that if thirty work people were prepared to pledge themselves to a two-year course of serious study, including written work, he would undertake to secure a tutor. R.H. Tawney, graduate of Balliol College and then an assistant lecturer at Glasgow University, agreed to teach the class, and a similar class at Longton, in Economic History. The Longton Class met on Friday, evenings and that at

1. A. Mansbridge An Adventure in Working Class Education op.cit. p.69
2. W.E.A. Annual Report 1906-07 p.13
3. A. Mansbridge Work people and the University University Review Vol.1. August 1905

Rochdale on Saturday afternoon both beginning in January 1906.[1]

Both classes were under the auspices of the Oxford University Extension Delegacy and the problem of finance was resolved when a grant of £300 was made to the Delegacy by New College, Oxford, and funds were thus available to provide financial assistance. As Price emphasises, although the resolution of the financial problem was important to the success of the experiment, the choice of Tawney proved to be crucial. He was an exceptionally gifted teacher and, above all, sensitive to the needs, aspirations of his students and knowledgeable of the conditions under which they lived and worked.[2] The academic success of both classes, the development of a corporate fellowship through the experience of the tutorial arrangements is well documented and acknowledged to have been one of the most significant landmarks in the development of the W.E.A.[3]

By 1907, the success of these classes was sufficiently recognised to prompt consideration of their provision and organisation on a larger scale. The matter was considered at the annual summer meeting held at Oxford University in 1907, and was linked to a broader consideration of the future relationship between Oxford and working class education.

Nield of the Co-operative movement and Sidney Ball, Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford, argued that the accession to power by working people who

1. A. Mansbridge An Adventure in Working Class Education op.cit. p.37
   T.W. Price op.cit. pp.30-32. Price was a member of the first Rochdale tutorial class.
   Cecil Scringeour Fifty Years A-growing W.E.A. North Staffordshire District 1974 pp.2-8. The class arranged under the aegis of the recently established Longton External Students Guild. E.S. Cartwright, later Secretary of the Oxford Joint Tutorial Classes Committee, was one of the original members of the Longton class.
2. Ross Terrill R.H. Tawney and His Times Andre Deutsch 1973 p.37
3. It was to essays written by students in these classes to which A.L. Smith, Master of Balliol, referred in 1912 as of honours degree standard in Modern History at Oxford. See Chapter 4.
   A. Mansbridge University Tutorial Classes op.cit. passim.
   Details of the Classes are given in 'Oxford and Working Class Education' Report 1908 Appendix VI pp.104-109

had chosen their leaders now required the universities to provide intellectual training for them. In its turn the University needed to become knowledgeable about working class conditions. Both emphasised the need to devise schemes to admit working men to Oxford rather than merely the development of extra-mural provision.

The speeches failed to inspire the delegates or allay their distrust of Universities largely because of the failure to identify needs and objectives with any degree of precision.[1] The mood of the conference continued uninspired until the impromptu, impassioned intervention by J.M. Mactavish, a shipwright from Portsmouth, who expressed the thoughts of many of the delegates:

> "I am not here as a suppliant for my class...I claim for my class all the best that Oxford has to give. I claim it as a right wrongfully withheld...To Oxford I say: Open wide your doors and take us in; we need you; you need us".[2]

He developed the theme of admission of working people to Oxford not for reasons of social mobility, but to equip them to return to provide leadership for the purpose of improving the social conditions of their social class. Hudson Shaw may have protested that Oxford could not accept any suggestion to tune 'her pulpits' to suit any social class, but some of Mactavish's opprobium was deserved over the unilateral selection by the University of the educational texts.

The candour of Mactavish's spontaneous contribution to the conference, and its reflection of the views of many delegates led to an animated discussion following which Mansbridge's carefully prepared resolution was approved. This was to establish a joint committee of fourteen representatives equally divided between the University and the W.E.A., to consider ways in which the University and workpeople might co-operate in the "systematic teaching of historical, economic and other liberal subjects".[3]

1. T.W.Price op.cit. p.37 and B. Jennings The Oxford Report Reconsidered Studies in Adult Education Vol.7 No.1 1975 N.I.A.E. p.57
2. A. Mansbridge University Tutorial Classes op.cit. Appendix IX has the full text of the Mactavish speech at the Conference
3. Oxford and Working Class Education op.cit. Preface p.vii

However, of even greater significance than the contribution of Nield, Ball and even Mactavish was that of Sir Robert Morant, Permanent Secretary to the Board of Education, who had met Mansbridge during the previous year. Apparently, Morant was impressed by the plans for sustained serious study through the proposed W.E.A. tutorial classes; by the responsible attitude of the W.E.A. which he viewed as a sound political investment; and by Mansbridge's inspiring personality. Shortly before the Oxford Conference, Morant had appointed both Mansbridge and D.J. Shackleton, a Labour M.P. and member of the W.E.A., to the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education apparently to assuage criticism that the Board and Committee were ignoring the aspirations of working people for improved educational opportunity.[1]

On behalf of the Board of Education, Morant offered to assist the development of liberal adult education through increased financial support; the celebrated phrase offered "..to small classes and solid earnest work that we can give increasingly of the golden stream".[2] With government financial assistance, the ability to stimulate demand, and provide small classes and thus avoid the earlier problems encountered in university extension course, it became much easier to arrange Tutorial Classes which developed rapidly from 1908 when the existing Regulations were modified to permit grants to be paid to support the work of the Classes.[2]

The Oxford Report 1908

The joint committee appointed at the conference in August 1907 produced the Oxford Report of 1908. It was to be the first of four major reports on liberal adult education in this century and is notable for its formulation of the relationship between the University and the W.E.A. which was given

1. Conversation with Professor Bernard Jennings September 1978
A.Mansbridge The Trodden Road op.cit. pp.162-63 A Letter from Morant to Mansbridge reveals his admiration of Mansbridge and his achievements.
2. B. Jennings op.cit. p.58

substance through the arrangements for University Tutorial Classes. It was also notable for its proposals, largely unrealised, for the admission of able but indigent working class adult students from the Tutorial Classes to the University. The recommendations for the latter had important policy implications for the University which were too radical to be accepted at that time. The argument for a new policy was centred on the financial assistance which might be made available:

> "A modern university must be accessible to every class... in the practical sense of making certain that no one will be excluded merely on the ground of poverty. Religious tests were abolished at the older Universities some thirty years ago, and the step is usually held to have been a wise one. But to the majority of the working classes who are in receipt of incomes of less than £80 per annum, a system which excludes a student because his parents' means are small appears indistinguishable in effect from one which excludes him because his parents are Roman Catholics or Nonconformists.." 1

The underlying principle was also emphasised for adult students and especially those with leadership responsibilities:

> "..the demand for University education made by workpeople, ...(is) to enable workmen to fulfil with greater efficiency the duties they owe to their own class, and as members of their class, to the whole nation... At the same time there is a large and rapidly increasing number of positions of great responsibility which are held by workpeople, and for the most efficient discharge of which it is essential that they should have a means of obtaining the best education which the country can offer...The education which Oxford can give, by broadening his knowledge and strengthening his judgement, would make him at once a more efficient servant of his own society, and a more potent influence on the side of industrial peace". 2

This was the basis of the case for the reform of admission procedures to Oxford for adult students; not merely for personal growth and development but more importantly for the contribution which a university education could make to the leaders of social and political life in the exercise of the authority which, in the first decade of this century, was recognisably passing from traditional upper echelons of society to a new group of people drawn from

1. Oxford and Working Class Education 1908. Second Edition, 1909 Clarendon Press, Oxford, p.49
2. Ibid. pp.81-83

working people and organisations at local authority, trade union, and national government levels. The assumption that wise and sound government would be secured through an Oxford education was not challenged or clouded by doubt about its appropriateness or effectiveness.

> "The Trade Union Secretary and the 'Labour Member' need an Oxford education as much, and will use it to as good ends, as the civil servant or the barrister". 1

A liberal education should be a common heritage but as in many other ways the working class had been disinheritated and the universities the preserves ofwealthier, leisured classes; a matter of injustice to the working class but also to the disadvantage of the universities. Thus the pressure for change was not merely one of the democratisation or meritocratic educational opportunity but a matter of urgent adaption to inevitable change within society exemplified by the accession to political power of working people through the Labour movement.

The practical methods of preparing adults for entry to the universities was conceived through preparatory studies beyond the University under its control and direction in partnership with working people. The route for the regular and unhindered passage to studies at Oxford presented itself through tutorial classes on the pattern of the two experimentally being conducted at Longton and Rochdale. With an expansion of these classes in industrial towns and the proposed reforms for admission to Oxford it was believed the desired objectives would be achieved. Both developments were regarded as interdependent and essential to the successful accomplishment of the purpose of securing accessibility to university education for leaders of the society drawn from working people.

It was also clear that the proposed development was regarded as an urban movement requiring well-developed trade union or other working class organisations to provide the mechanism through which the demand, support,

1. Ibid. p.48

responsibility for success, and class members would be channelled. The Report referred to northern England, and specifically to industrial Lancashire, with its existing network of institutions - social, industrial, religious and political which formed a matrix for the dissemination and development of ideas arising from studies in Tutorial Classes. Where a W.E.A. Branch already existed, the Report claimed its primacy as "the natural body to undertake the work".[1] If none existed, other working class bodies such as trade unions, trade councils, or co-operative Societies would be the appropriate organisations to be responsible for the arrangements, attendance, and selection of the subject of study and the tutor. Again, the model of the Rochdale Education Guild's class was offered and, in view of the financial support provided, the Local Education Authority should be invited to assist over the provision of classes.

That the Tutorial Class was not intended as a substitute for admission to intra-mural studies at Oxford but rather as a preparation for continued studies at the University for a limited number of very intelligent, able adults was corroborated by the re-action in 'The Highway' immediately following the publication of the Report. The new journal of the W.E.A. stressed that the Tutorial Class was neither a substitue for, nor imitation of, university education but an "outpost of Oxford".[2] Students in such classes would realise that they were genuine university students, linked with the University:

> "not merely by facilities afforded to the ablest amongst them for membership in an Oxford College but by the spirit which makes University men brothers all over the world".

This was, of course, an unrealised and perhaps unrealisable ambition but it reflected the optimism and hopes for the new arrangements which sustained many of the early members of the W.E.A. and universities. The failure to achieveeasy access to the University led to the limited success in the achievement of Tutorial Classes as a progressive method leading to continued

1. Ibid p.56
2. 'The Highway' Vol.1. No.3 December 1908 p.34

opportunities for university study to degree or diploma levels. Nevertheless, the two-year courses of study introduced through Tutorial Classes marked an entirely new concept, and a considerable advance, in university extra-mural education.[1] The discontinuous, superficial university extension course declined as Tutorial Classes increased. The arrangements whereby the university commitment of providing one-half of the tutor's fees and travelling expenses was matched by the local body responsible for the Tutorial Class and meant that small classes, not more than thirty was the recommendation of the Report, and low fees for students a realistic objective.

The importance of small classes was reflected in the definition of the teacher's responsibility towards his students. Again, Tawney's experience during his first year of teaching at Longton and Rochdale was evident. High academic quality in the tutor was vital but even more important was the emphasis on the tutor's ability to respond sensitively to the existing condition of the students and to recognise that their approach to academic study would proceed along a non-academic path so that there should be convergence of the different points of view to achieve close intellectual and personal collaboration in mutual learning. The parallel between the traditional Oxford tutorial method and the conduct of Tutorial Classes was explicit and echoed the Nottingham memorial of 1872. The teacher was required to know the personal circumstances of the students, to meet them outside the normal twenty four class sessions during the years course; to comment fully on written work either individually or in meetings of groups of three or four on occasions; to guide their reading and ".. in short, act as far as possible, the part of an Oxford tutor who is dealing with honour students in such a subject as History or Philosophy".[2]

1. The Report envisaged a study course of at least two years to provide a "fairly comprehensive view of the main principles of at least one of the subjects to be studied". To secure government aid under the existing Regulations for Technical Schools, the courses were extended to three years in 1908 and both the Longton and Rochdale classes modified their arrangements to complete three years of study.
2. Ibid p.64

Thus the Tutorial Class, although the demand, organisation and control was vested in the local organisations of work people, would become an extension of the teaching at Oxford and explicitly in preparation to help some, at least, of the students for "study within the University itself".[1] Oxford Colleges through scholarships and the University through its Appeal Fund would be asked to provide financial assistance to students from Tutorial Classes who would be selected by a committee composed of representatives of the University, the W.E.A., the organising body and a member of the Class. Further a special certificate should be awarded by the University Extension Delegacy based on the work and attendance of students in Classes. Possession of the certificate would be accepted by the University as a requirement of admission to Diploma courses such as in Economics and Political Science as it was believed that the majority of those few students from Tutorial Classes who would proceed to further study at Oxford would naturally read for a diploma rather than for a degree and linked with the ideas of Moore Ede in 1875. Although the Committee for Economics of the University immediately concurred with the Report and made the necessary arrangements, the reality of the situation was that most of the students involved pursued courses through the few existing arrangements at Oxford Colleges and opportunities at Ruskin College. The issue of broadening the entry to Oxford to permit the most able students from Tutorial Classes regularly and easily to continue their studies at Oxford was a fundamental one and unlikely to be resolved by the recommendations of a Report which was not representative of the University itself.[2]

A pressure group of academics known as the Catiline Club and comprising Tawney, Zimmern, Temple and, presumably, Ball sought reform within the University which would raise its academic standards and democratise its entry and in the W.E.A. found a cause with objectives not entirely dissimilar to their own.[3]

1. Ibid p.67
2. Some criticisms of the composition of the 1907 Committee came from Oxford Colleges and from radical working class organisations
3. B. Jennings. The Oxford Report Reconsidered op.cit. pp.55-56

All became members of the W.E.A., personal friends of Mansbridge and, without exception, leading members of the Association during its formative years. Temple and Tawney were, of course, also to become Presidents of the Association in the nineteen twenties and thirties. An ambition of this group and of Mansbridge was for a Royal Commission to be established for the reform of the University but the Commission was not appointed until 1920. By then, the Tutorial Class movement had established itself as an intrinsically valuable method of study for many more adults than would perhaps have enrolled if the original objective of preparation for full-time university study had been pursued. Similarly because of this failure to secure increased access to studies at the University, the certificate was never introduced as it was superfluous without the possibility of university entry, and the W.E.A.'s original commitment to working class education was thus not deflected into a pattern of differentiated study and achievement which an emphasis on preparation for university study might have introduced.

Within working class organisations, there were also reservations about the desirability of university studies at Oxford. Ramsay Macdonald was fearful about the influence Oxford would have on the intelligent members of the working classes "Oxford is a poison... You cannot recreate Oxford by an infusion of working men...Oxford will assimilate them, not they Oxford".[1] Other similar opinions were expressed across a wide spectrum of interests and the general view developed that Tutorial Classes would almost certainly succeed in broadening the education of working people without any necessity to use them as preparatory classes for university study. Intensive,shorter periods of study through the development of summer school residential periods at universities was preferable, a view endorsed by the Final Report of the Adult Education Committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction in 1919.

1. Ibid. p.62

In its consideration of Tutorial Classes, the main focus of the Report, the foundations of the W.E.A. were laid. With their establishment and the separate arrangements proposed, and which were adopted, it was inevitable that the W.E.A. would become independent of the university extension tradition from which it emerged. The Tutorial Class was so distinctively different from the conventional pattern of university extension courses that it led to an entirely different conceptualisation of the objectives of liberal adult education and thus the provision for the education of adults. The realisation of a genuine partnership in learning between working people and universities in which the demand for the provision of courses came from the potential students rather than from a benign philanthropic academic patronage by universities was unprecedented. The condition that the W.E.A. should have a membership of at least three-quarters drawn from labouring men and women was an aim of Mansbridge's which was not to be sustained beyond the first few years but which, nevertheless continued to provide students drawn from both manual and non-manual occupational groups in ways completely different from those who continued to enrol for university extension courses throughout the period.

The failure to sustain such a high proportion of labouring men and women in the membership of the W.E.A. was attributable to the perceptible changes occuring within the social composition of society, which rapidly increased with improved educational opportunities particularly following the increased secondary provision after the 1902 Education Act. The growth of commerce, local and central administration, professional services was especially noticeable from the beginning of this century and created an unprecedentedly large group of black-coated, or white-collared workers. Further, the first world war created a new and wide range of employment opportunities for women. Since the majority of these sedentary workers were drawn from families of manual workers their changed social positions broadened and complicated the social structure of the 'working classes' but as they were not formed into

cohesive unionised groups until the post-1945 period there was no immediate recognition of their collective presence either in the early years of the W.E.A., when their numerical totals were relatively small, or until they began to enrol for the less demanding, shorter courses for adults which emerged as a clear trend from the mid-nineteen twenties. The major exception to the generalisation were teachers who were unionised in the early years of the century and whose numbers grew rapidly during the period as a result of extended provision of education in the maintained sector.[1]

There has always been considerable debate within the W.E.A. as well as beyond its membership about the definition of "working Class" and the categorisation of occupational groups in different periods has varied. The broad polarities appear to be either those who are simply united by a set of values and beliefs in the personal and social benefits of liberal adult education without social differentiation or those who belong to a proletarian body of manual workers. Later in life Mansbridge appeared to regard the W.E.A. as microcosm of society and more recently, there is a recognition that the W.E.A. is, or should be, fundamentally concerned with those who are educationally under-privileged. Although this interpretation raises other difficulties, it at least has the merit of limiting the range of interpretation to educational criteria. These include an educational span not exceeding the statutory minimum from five to fifteen or sixteen years of age and is coupled with the 1966 Plowden Report's concepts of inner-city educational priority areas and the 1973 Russell Report's emphasis on adult under-privilege. Both these Reports were concerned with socio-economic disadvantage which has its origins in social inequality and its effects on educational attainment. For the purposes of this study, the interpretation of 'working class' or 'working people' is the educational one of the minimum duration of attendance of school according to the statutory requirements

1. G.D.H. Cole op.cit. p.50. Cole estimates that professional groups excluding teachers, increased from about 150,000 in 1851 to over a million by 1951.

which applied during the period under review.[1]

Tutorial Classes offered the opportunities for sustained study extending over three years in liberal studies with a particular concentration on Political Science, Economics, History and Literature to provide a necessary background to enlightened ideas about cultural, societal and the economic concerns to which the new leaders of the country were addressing themselves. Later, Mansbridge appeared to have moved from his original position, regarding the Tutorial Class movement as providing the means for:

> "... education as a way of life rather than as a means of livlihood or a mere intellectual exercise... a pursuit of knowledge for its own sake ..to build up a new attitude towards life.. and purify and ennoble social habits".[2]

Later he was to assert:

> "But the general appeal to which men and women respond in their degree must be a spiritual one - for education is ultimately of the spirit and is perceived by the spirit only". 3

The Oxford Report concluded with a recommendation that within the framework envisaged for the organisation of Tutorial Classes a new and separate committee would be necessary to represent both the interests of working people and the university and handle the specific arrangements for Tutorial Classes: establishment, maintenance, finance of Classes and the supervision of students in residence at Oxford. To undertake the work involved would require the existence of administrative staff. Seven members of the new Committee represented the University and a further seven were nominated to represent working class organisations through the W.E.A. The new joint committee was responsible to the University Extension Delegacy with Temple and Mansbridge as its joint secretaries.

1. J.F.C.Harrison, The W.E.A. in the Welfare State in Trends in English Adult Education (Ed) S.G. Raybould Heinemann 1959 pp.10-18
2. A. Mansbridge University Tutorial Classes op.cit.p.26
3. idem An Adventure in Working Class Education op.cit. p.xvii

It appeared odd that J.A.R. Marriott, the Secretary to the Delegates for the Extension of University Teaching was not one of the joint secretaries. Marriott had been a prominent supporter of Mansbridge and the early W.E.A. but when the Oxford Report was published he disagreed with the proposed special arrangements for Tutorial Classes, although he concurred with the educational recommendations, and the Longton and Rochdale classes had been arranged with his assistance under the Delegacy's existing administration. He was the only member of the committee unable to support all its recommendations. Jennings suggests that Marriott, a prominent Tory and later M.P., disliked the "degree of worker control" and Mactavish believed that Marriott would use his influence under the proposed arrangements for the admission of adult students to Oxford to admit "the wrong characters" from university extension courses.[1] Accordingly, separate arrangemnets were made to exclude Marriott's influence through the establishment of a new committee exclusively for Tutorial Classes, a development which also led to the distinctively separate existence of these new classes from those provided by the university extension movement. The new committee was also necessary if there was to be parity of control of Tutorial Classes between the universities and working class organisations.

The Development of the W.E.A.

The establishment, management and conduct of Tutorial Classes rested entirely with local committees. A local organisation was needed to ascertain the demand for study and the subject to be chosen, the students were required to sign a pledge of attendance and to undertake written work, and to arrange to meet the local share of the costs of the course. Where a W.E.A. Branch existed it provided the necessary organisation; where not, the local Co-operative society, trades union branch or trades council accepted

1. B. Jennings Albert Mansbridge and English Adult Education University of Hull 1976.

responsibility. Under the revision of the 1908 Regulations, the L.E.A.'s were invariably approached to provide financial support, to ensure that student fees could be deliberately maintained at levels likely to attract working people and to permit enrolments of relatively few students which lay at the core of the Tutorial Class proposals.

The major responsibility of the University was to provide guidance over the syllabus for the Classes. The pattern of teaching adopted by Tawney at Longton and Rochdale became universal: an hour's exposition by the teacher followed by a similar period of discussion.[1] Individual written work was submitted at fortnightly intervals and supervised by the teacher. Books were either purchased by students or provided through book box loans from Oxford or the Fabian Society. Reading circles in preparation for Tutorial Classes and group study during the period of the course meant a rigorous discipline and the written pledge introduced in the Rochdale class was commended by the Report and generally adopted.

The recommendations of the Oxford Report were suggested as a temporary, experimental method for Tutorial Class organisation and conduct, but probably as a result of the failure to secure improved arrangements for the admission of adult working students to Oxford they were not modified in any important way and the system became the template for the arrangements for Tutorial Classes throughout the country and were confirmed when the Board of Education included its main features when modifying the Regulations for grant aid in 1908. The importance of the Report and its enduring effect was in the adoption of its recommendations for the conduct and organisation of Tutorial Classes by most universities during the following year. The recommendations for joint committee control and the principle of financial assistance by the universities represented a major advance on the arrangements under which university extension courses were provided, and the joint committee

1. The Oxford Report op.cit. App.V.

recognised as a suitable university committee for co-operative arrangements between working class organisations and the universities - an unprecedented advance and recognition of non-university interests.

The eight classes arranged in 1908 had increased to thirty nine within a year as other universities enthusiastically adopted the joint committee model. To stimulate and develop the principle of partnership between universities and working class organisations the Central Joint Advisory Committee was established in 1909, with Mansbridge as its Secretary, the first body on which every university and university college in England and Wales was represented. Its work promoted further expansion of Tutorial Classes and secured improved grants from the Board of Education.

By 1913, when the Board of Education introduced its first set of Regulations specifically for grant-aiding Tutorial Classes 117 Classes were at work with 3176 students enrolled. It was clear from the beginning that Tutorial Classes with their objective of academic rigour and required commitment would not be an appropriate or practicable method for mass education of working people, and it is clear both from the experience in the early classes and from the Oxford Report that it was never intended to be an instrument for the education of all adult students.

> "It was not difficult to create a University Tutorial Class in any town yet only a small proportion of working men and women... possess the student and have, together with interest in the subject the ability to persist in it". 1

The Tutorial Class was to prove to be a unique contribution of the W.E.A. to adult education and through the permanent partnership of co-operative endeavour of working people secured with the initiative and control in the hands of the students, a principle which had proved to be elusive in the

1. A. Mansbridge The Trodden Road op.cit. p.247

university extension movement for a quarter of a century prior to the formation of the W.E.A. Approval of the method, spirit and achievement of Tutorial Classes came in the Hobhouse and Headlam Report of 1910 following an inspection of fourteen Tutorial Classes on behalf of the Board of Education. The Report confirmed that lecturing and teaching corresponded to the spirit of university teaching although the problem of university standards was perhaps more satisfactorily solved at Diploma rather than that of honours degree level.[1]

With the widespread acceptance of the major section of the Oxford Report which dealt with the system of Tutorial Classes and the subsequent rapid growth in their number as other universities made provision for courses and adopted the joint committee model, the W.E.A. was effectively separated from university extension as its own Branch & District organisation for the education of working people developed independently of the system of University extension from which it had emerged.

As W.E.A. Branches were established, their immediate concern was with the organisation of Tutorial Classes, but not necessarily exclusively. Mansbridge urged them to:

> "Discover your own needs, organise in your own way, study as you wish to study. There are no two towns or villages alike". 2

Thus the autonomous, non-party political, unsectarian character of W.E.A. Branches with the twin objectives of promoting the education of adults and as an educational focus for the wider working class aspirations in connection with an improved maintained system of education from nursery level

1. This Report is considered further in Chapter 4.
2. A. Mansbridge An Adventure in Working Class Education. op.cit. p.23

to universities developed with the Branch providing co-ordinating as well as stimulative functions. The models for most of the early Branches were the constitutions and practice of the Reading and Rochdale Branches both of which were supported by affiliation from various local interests, by grant-aid from the L.E.A.s, and with the active support of the universities.

The constitution of Branches required them to report quarterly to the central executive committee of the W.E.A. on their activities and as the number of Branches increased the idea of elected regional committees emerged in the South West, the North West and Yorkshire, and the Midlands, composed of representatives from regional Branches. The success of this intermediate level of organisation led to a revision in the original simple constitution and in 1907 the country was divided into districts each of which was to be financially and generally autonomous but contributing some of its income to support the activities of the national Association. Each W.E.A. District had an appointed Council with representation from each of the affiliated societies and W.E.A. Branches. From this membership were elected district officers: a President, or Chairman, secretary and treasurer. Income was derived from affiliation fees, a minimum of one guinee for each society, and half a crown for individual members. Each Branch also contributed one penny in every shilling of its subscription income to District funds.

The central council of the national Association was composed of district representatives and those from organisations which affiliated at national level such as the Co-operative Union, the Club and Institute Union, the London Working Men's College, Ruskin College, the National Union of Teachers and the National Home Reading Union. The central council was the governing body of the Association and other members included university representatives and co-opted members such as Margaret McMillan the

innovative educationist for nursery education, Tawney and, of course, Temple who became the first President of the W.E.A. in 1908.

In 1908, when this federal structure was assuming its permanent form, there were only three District organisations: Midland, North Western and South Wales, but others followed and by 1912 a further four districts had been established. In 1913, the Eastern District, the area of this study, and the South Eastern Districts were added to the growing list. Some of the districts were too large for effective organisation and in the following decade sub-division of the most unmanageable areas occurred and the whole country covered by District organisations.

Much of the early work of stimulating expansion and organisation of the W.E.A. was undertaken by Mansbridge. He appeared to be a permanent itinerant throughout the country and although the focus of his attention was on the national development of the W.E.A. and the creation of the district organisation, he did not overlook the possibilities of the development of the Association's activities in rural areas. His early ideas showed some influence of, and admiration for, the Danish Folk High Schools, but perhaps he veered away from a similar pattern when the Adult School Movement founded Fircroft College in 1909.

In 1909, the central council of the W.E.A. established an ad hoc committee, the Advisory Committee in Rural Districts, to examine the policy issues implicit in the development of rural classes. Its recommendations were inconclusive on the idea of a residential centre, even though a site had been offered. However, the committee firmly recommended the extension of W.E.A. classes into rural areas, although there were disagreements over the applicability of the methods which had been employed so successfully in urban areas.

Mansbrid e, typically, sought his own solution through visits to rural areas of which perhaps the most celebrated was at Ascott-under-Wychwood where a village audience of agricultural labourers and their wives, made the improbable and extraordinary request for a class in shorthand. Mansbridge "divined that they wished to study history!"[1] More conclusively favourable was the experience at Swindon where the Branch members, under the leadership of Reuben George, became voluntary teachers in the surrounding rural area and rom which emerged five rural W.E.A. Branches.

The difficulty of rural areas lay in the failure to develop consciously organised movements of working people through trade unions or Co-operative Societies which in the urban areas had provided a social dynamic for change. Further, the sparsely populated areas could not easily support Tutorial Classes and thus the problem of finance remained an almost insuperable obstacle to the organisation of adult education activities. The combination of both handicaps led to relatively little development in rural areas to which the Adult Education Committee's Final Report, 1919, gave particular attention and pointed the way forward. Mansbridge's own experience in the Oxfordshire and Wiltshire countryside might have been responsible for his optimism over rural education:

> "The experience of the W.E.A. has proved conclusively that persistent study appeals to the rural labourer. At the same time no facilities will tempt him if they are imposed by others or suggested in a philanthropic spirit...The force which is often generated in villages is the force which creates scholars and men of genius, and England dare not fail to foster and strengthen this force". 2

However, in East Anglia, the W.E.A. failed to establish itself until the nineteen twenties in any of its rural areas and the Final Report 1919, appears to provide a much more accurate appraisal of the position than had Mansbridge, a year later.[3]

1. A. Mansbridge An Adventure in Working Class Education op.cit. p.27
2. Ibid p.28
3. Further examination of adult education in rural areas is provided in Chapter..7.....
   The Final Report 1919 is an abbreviation of the Minstry of Reconstruction's Adult Education Committee Final Report,1919 HMSO 1919 (Cmud 321)

In 1914, sixteen universities and university colleges were conducting Tutorial Classes. The total number of Classes was 145 attended by over 3200 students, more than two thirds of whom were men. Of the universities involved, London provided thirty, Oxford eighteen, Manchester seventeen, Liverpool sixteen, but Cambridge a mere four. The reason for Cambridge's low number reflected a lack of commitment to the Tutorial Class idea, and Granage's view was that they were:

> "a legitimate development of the old University Extension System, but they were more intensive than most of the older courses.." 1

Cranage saw them as a development within the university's extra mural provision and not requiring separate treatment through the joint committee method recommended in the Oxford Report. It is almost certain that the late decision to establish a Tutorial Classes Committee at Cambridge in 1913 reflected a reluctance to do so on Cranage's part and arose from considerable pressure for its establishment by Mansbridge. For the 1914-15 academic year, the number of Tutorial Courses planned exceeded 200, but the outbreak of war immediately reduced the figure to 152. An unavoidable decline continued throughout the war reaching its lowest level in 1917 when only 99 classes were held and fewer than 2000 students were enrolled.

In the post-war period the growth of other types of courses under the independent control of the W.E.A. became marked. Not entirely dissimilar from university extension courses in method and arrangements they were nevertheless distinctive for the small number of students enrolling in one year and terminal

1. D.H.S. Cranage. Not Only a Dean The Faith Press 1952 p.96
Cranage believed that Tutorial classes were an element of University extension and not genuinely unique. For this reason, he was apparently reluctant to establish a Joint Committee for Tutorial Classes at Cambridge; restricted the subjects in the first Cambridge Tutorial Classes to Economics and Political Science because these were rarely requested by university extension centres; and told Mansbridge that he (Cranage) had been "especially instructed to emphasise the experimental and temporary character of the scheme" i.e. for Tutorial Classes.
B. Jennings. M/S on Mansbridge's life and achievements. 1978

courses and the insistence that student fees should be held down to the lowest possible level to attract students who, through introductory studies might be encouraged to proceed from these one year, or shorter courses, to the more demanding Tutorial Classes. Thus the post-war period was clearly distinguishable from the first decade of the existence of the W.E.A. in that it developed a strongly independent existence from its earlier umbilical relationship with the university extension movement and the virtually exclusive provision of Tutorial Classes. The W.E.A. began to develop a hierarchy of courses during the early nineteen twenties financed with considerable difficulty through the efforts of Branches and the existing inadequate regulations which had been devised principally for local authority vocational courses under which some grant aid could be earned. Additionally, many L.E.A.s also provided small grants for these shorter courses, in addtion to assistance for Tutorial Classes, but the support from statutory bodies fell far below that necessary to meet the costs incurred. The Adult Education Regulations of 1924[1] introduced more generous scales for grant aid; recognised the newer courses which were becoming more attractive to sections of the public other than the traditional groups of working people. The reasons for the development of short courses which followed were only partially attributable to the new Regulations. Other factors were influential in post-war society.

The war had swept aside Edwardian England and with it went many of its social customs and rigid class stratification. The effects of the 1902 Education Act, evident in the increased educational opportunities for able children through the 'scholarship' system for secondary education, were beginning to emerge at adult level and many who might otherwise have desired Tutorial Class provision were now the products of an extended grammar school

1. The Adult Education Regulations are considered in Chapter 4.

education, especially in urban areas where progress had been most rapid. The relationship between education and social mobility was becoming widespread and explicit. Lowndes calculated that the odds against a child in an elementary school gaining a scholarship to a secondary school had shortened from 270 to 1 in 1894 to 11 to 1 in 1934.[1] Tawney, writing in 1922, claimed that although the increased numbers of pupils in secondary schools were still below an adequate level they:

> "represent something like an educational revolution compared with the almost complete absence of public provision which existed prior to 1902". 2

Unquestionably, many of these new secondary pupils regarded adult education as a personal, cultural, self-improving activity to extend their cognitive development as adults in politics, economics, literature and history in ways which would have been inappropriate at school. They saw the continuation of their education as a personally satisfying activity rather than a search for knowledge with an avowedly social, reforming purpose. A demand thus emerged for courses leading to courses which were intellectually and culturally broadening continuative interests rather than the earlier necessity to overcome the educational deficiencies during adolescence and its deep sense,as in the mid-nineteenth century, of social inferiority. There were others who were motivated by the social reform impulse, or who sought to overcome earlier educational under-privilege, but many of the one-year classes undertook studies at levels comparable with the first year of a Tutorial Class, often in similar subjects, and these attracted students otherwise reluctant to commit themselves to a three-year programme of study and submit essays at fortnightly intervals.

Following his serious illness in 1913, Mansbridge's direct influence on the W.E.A. waned and others developed policies which were initially, at

1. G.A.N. Lowndes The Silent Social Revolution O.U.P. 1937 p.101
2. R.H. Tawney Secondary Education for All: A policy for Labour nd but circa 1923

least, tangential to his own. After the war, the appointment of Mactavish in 1916 could be seen to have moved the W.E.A. distinctively towards the trade union movement, which had been one of the original intentions behind the appointment. In Mactavish, the developing policy of the W.E.A. was personified and he was more closely involved with politics and the trade union movement than Mansbridge had ever been, or indeed desired. Education for overt social and political purposes replaced Mansbridge's belief that it was, per se, emancipative, and the W.E.A. became identified with the campaign for increased educational opportunities for children which preceded the Fisher Education Act of 1918. The campaign was the first national occasion for the W.E.A. publicly to demonstrate its support for reforming the statutory system and it gained much from the publicity in 1917 and in its alignment with other reforming bodies and the National Union of Teachers.

Both Mactavish and Tawney had explicit links with the Labour Party and a closer relationship with the trade union movement came in 1919 when the Workers' Educational Trade Union Committee was established to launch a joint scheme between the W.E.A. and the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation to provide educational activities and subsidised membership of W.E.A. classes for trade unionists. The District organisation of the W.E.A. provided the framework for the new administrative machinery of Divisional Committees of the W.E.T.U.C. with the District Secretaries providing secretarial and support services for the administration of the new scheme.

Unlike Mansbridge who aligned himself with university and Anglican interests, Mactavish tilted the balance towards the Labour movement. In 1918, the annual meeting of the Eastern District protested at the use of 'The Highway' for an appeal for funds for the Labour Party stressing that

the journal of the W.E.A. should be neutral in matters of party politics.[1] Later, in 1925 the agreement between the T.U.C., the National Council of Labour Colleges and the national W.E.A. designed to eliminate the damaging strife between the N.C.L.C. and the W.E.A. over the education of trade unionists led to difficulties and doubts about the W.E.A.'s neutrality in politics. Educational bodies were alarmed at the agreement, some L.E.A.s were suspicious of the motives of the W.E.A. and the Edinburgh W.E.A. Branch seceded from the national Association.

Fundamentally, the W.E.A. was concerned with the improvement of educational opportunity and continued to press for a national system of education for individual and social development. In the mid-nineteen twenties the Association campaigned for the raising of the school leaving age to fifteen, much of its activity in connection with the Hadow Report, 1926, whose members included Mansbridge and Tawney. Economic retrenchment by the government in the education service in 1921 and a decade later was strenuously opposed by national Association and at local levels by Branches and Districts.

The Adult Education Committee's Final Report, 1919

This was the first report by a government of the provision on liberal adult education and has been described as "probably the most important single contribution ever made to the literature of adult education..it has served two generations as a store of information and ideas".[2] Its Chairman, A.L. Smith, Master of Balliol College, Oxford saw the Report as

> "a great landmark erected to mark the point where an age that was dying gave place to an age that was coming to birth". 3

1. Minute Book No.1 Annual Meeting of the Eastern District 29 June, 1918 The District Chairman, S.J. Hutley, was mandated to lodge the protest at the meeting of the W.E.A. central committee.
2. R.D. Waller A Design for Democracy Max Parrish 1956 p.16
3. Ibid p.17
   The Report of the Ministry of Reconstruction Adult Education Committee was published by H.M.S.O. in 1919, and will in future references in text be referred to by its usual abbreviation as the "Final Report,1919"

Its recommendations and influence were such that Smith's assessment of its importance was not misplaced. Its influence was considerable. The foundation of university extra-mural departments; an unprecedented set of regulations specifically for liberal adult education; the recognition of a permanent place for voluntary organisations in a national system of education, and direct funding of non-statutory bodies exclusively concerned with adult education. It also provided a coherent social philosophy and new justification for liberal adult education; the necessity for an educated public engaged in a life-long process of enlightenment to equip itself for the onerous tasks of citizenship and the progressive development of a democratic society.

Whereas the Oxford Report had concentrated on the links between the University with its new social purpose, and the education of able, working class leaders, the Final Report 1919, considered the wider constituents of adult education as a life-long process essential for the achievement of personal development and in its contribution to improved standards of citizenship and a new social order. The distinction between the emphasis in both reports is attributable to the decade of successful endeavour by the W.E.A. and the Joint Committees for Tutorial Classes as well as the characteristic idealism which typically arises from large-scale conflict; in this case from the appalling penalties of the European war.

The composition of the Committee reflected the interests of bodies which had pioneered developments in liberal adult education and the W.E.A. was especially well represented. In addition to the Master of Balliol, Mansbridge and Tawney, E.S. Cartwright and Arthur Greenwood the Joint Secretaries were important members of the Association. Established as a committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction, the Report was presented to Lloyd George in late 1919 following two years of deliberation. An important matter for the committee were proposals by Board of Education to

extend responsibilities and duties for adult education to the Local Authorities so that both vocational and liberal adult education would become complementary facets within the statutory system. The proposals were outlined in draft revised regulations issued by the Board in 1917, and were firmly rejected by the Report which advocated a co-operative partnership in liberal adult education.

The Final Report and the L.E.A. Role

The Report had considerably greater faith in the record of achievement by universities and voluntary organisations than in that of L.E.A.s. The record of the latter was unimpressive. The pre-occupation of L.E.A.s from 1902 with the rapid developments within the statutory elementary system of education and the traditional involvement in a wide field of vocational endeavour for commercial and technical education were the most important reasons for the neglect of direct provision of liberal adult education. Of those L.E.A.s prepared to contribute to the recognised need for the provision of liberal adult education, the support had been almost wholly financial from the inception of the W.E.A. and exemplified by the attitude of the Reading and Rochdale Education Committees towards W.E.A. courses and classes. In the post-war period, and the demand for increased technical education, it was inevitable that L.E.A. provision would lie in the vocational rather than liberal adult education development. Further, under the Education Act, 1918, Local Authorities were faced with major new responsibilities principally in connection with the provision of compulsory part-time education beyond the age of fourteen in a system of day continuation schools.[1] The Adult Education Report, 1919, concluded that:

> "The voluntary agency, in brief, is not a makeshift but a permanent need and the Local Authorities should frankly accept co-operation with it." 2

1. Compulsory part-time day continuation schools were not introduced on a significant scale because of the economic difficulties of the early nineteen twenties. The school at Rugby proved to be a famous exception.
2. Adult Education Committee Final Report 1919 op.cit. p.106

Under the Education Act, 1918, Local Authorities were required to prepare schemes for the development of a comprehensive system of education which included adult education either through direct provision or in co-operation with other bodies. This was widely interpreted as confirmation of an important but indirect role for L.E.A.s to contribute financial support for provision of liberal adult education by voluntary bodies and in 1922 the Board of Education Adult Education Committee was able to claim that not one scheme submitted by an L.E.A., and approved by the Board, had an "extensive programme of adult education" and the local authority provision of financial support for the work of voluntary bodies remained substantially that available under the Education Act of 1902. [1]

With this general failure of L.E.A.s to assume responsibility for direct provision of facilities for liberal adult education the Final Report, 1919, accurately foresaw the position reflected in 1922, which was to persist until the period following the Education Act of 1944, and claimed that the existing practice whereby most of the provision being made by voluntary bodies should continue. "We do not think that Local Authorities will, generally speaking, take bold steps to provide facilities for the study of non-vocational subjects. Indeed, we believe that they are more likely to provide vocational studies". [2]

1. Board of Education Adult Education Committee Paper No 1
   Report on Local Co-operation Between Universities, Local Education Authorities, and Voluntary Bodies. H.M.S.O. 1922 p.8
   In the Eastern District not one L.E.A. had submitted a scheme of any kind by 1920
2. Adult Education Committee Final Report op.cit. p.108

Thus the role of the L.E.A.s gradually emerged from the Report substantially as that which had been established before the war. Although L.E.A.s were empowered from 1902 to develop facilities for liberal adult education, their earlier record indicated:

> "..it is clear that little demand is made upon Local Education Authorities by adults for classes in humane subjects. It is irrefutable, however, that the demand exists. The activities of the Universities and voluntary bodies bear eloquent witness to the reality of the demand". 1

The indictment of the L.E.A.s was that their interests had lain, and would continue to lie, in vocational education for adults and the logic of the situation was that this was almost certain to continue unchanged in the future, not least because it had been the voluntary organisations which had recognised and met the needs of adults through their own more flexible and responsive methods of organisations and teaching. In recognition of the reality of the situation, the Report saw no alternative but that L.E.A.s should turn to the universities and the voluntary associations to provide liberal adult education in the future and the role of the statutary body delegated to a provider of more generous financial assistance.

This proved to be an accurate assessment and when the Board of Education encouraged L.E.A.s to assume direct responsibility for non-university provided liberal adult education in the mid-nineteen twenties, there was little response and the position of the voluntary associations was, perhaps reluctantly, confirmed by the Board in 1932.[2]

However, in 1919 the view expressed in the Final Report was in sharp contrast to the official Board of Education policy. The proposed revised

1. Ibid p.112
2. See Chapter 4 for consideration of the Adult Education Regulations

regulations for Continuation, Technical and Art Classes recognised the necessity for the development of a framework for further education through graded and progressive training. To achieve this objective, the Board required L.E.A.s to prepare schemes for provision which were to include courses in general education:

> "providing facilities for disinterested studies making for wise living and good citizenship". 1

The intention was explicit. With the exception of University Tutorial Classes, the Board envisaged that all grant-aided courses would be under the control of L.E.A.s. The financing of L.E.A. classes was to be through an inclusive, block grant to be disbursed at their discretion. All voluntary organisations were opposed to these proposals, as the advantages of the existing system were considerable. Provided that the appropriate regulations were observed, each class and course provided by voluntary bodies attracted grant-aid and the open-ended nature of the financial arrangements clearly permitted the rapid growth of W.E.A. provision both for Tutorial Classes, one year and other courses. In addition, where L.E.A.s were prepared to support local initiatives further grants were earned on the same classes. The financial commitment of the Board of Education was thus theoretically unlimited and the administrative burden of processing individual applications for grant aid from L.E.A.s and a range of voluntary organisations including sixteen W.E.A. Districts undoubtedly considerable. Thus the proposals in the 1917 revised regulations were clearly intended to devolve the responsibility for the supervision and financing of classes to L.E.A.s, and the block formula, presumably, was intended to place some upper limit on the level of expenditure incurred by the Board of Education on all forms of adult education, except those provided by the universities.

1. Adult Education Committee Final Report 1919 op.cit. p.156

Under the 1917 proposals, the problems for the voluntary organisations were obvious and, on past record of most L.E.A.s, serious. Firstly, a loss of freedom and spontaneity over provision of courses would be inevitable with the L.E.A.s as paymasters. Secondly, the autonomous responsibility to organise classes in response to demands from working people would disappear and a central tenet of the W.E.A. surrendered. Thirdly, the emphasis by L.E.A.s on vocational adult education and the indifference by most to liberal adult education suggested that the discretionary control over the block grant would result in little finance being devoted to the development of the latter, especially with the foreshadowed intended development of continuation courses in local colleges:

> "in these circumstances it would appear unlikely that non-vocational adult education will flourish vigorously in local colleges as the predominant note of the colleges will be struck by the technical studies which will be their first consideration." 1

With the proposed overall responsibility for educational provision other than for University Tutorial Classes, the L.E.A.s would receive:

> "all the grant in respect of this work and aiding centres which it does not itself maintain, after considering the value and cost of the work done in them, either out of the grant or other funds at its disposal". 2

As it was customary for the fees paid to tutors of liberal adult education classes to be at significantly higher rates than for L.E.A. classes, and as the W.E.A. had maintained the lowest possible student-fee scales to attract working class people, the proposed revised regulations presented fundamental problems to the new and anticipated provision of one year courses.

The solution preferred by the Report was that although it welcomed an expanded role for the L.E.A. in liberal adult education and, indeed,

1. Ibid p.158
2. Ibid p. 157

believed that full development of provision could not be achieved without the full participation of L.E.A.s, the arrangements should be made on the basis of a co-operative partnership with voluntary organisations. The experimental nature of adult education provision required conditions both flexible and discretionary which the proposed regulations would inhibit if not extinguish. Accordingly, the Report recommended exceptional treatment for voluntary organisations by the Board of Education, even though there would be administrative difficulties in such an arrangement. This view was to prevail under the mechanism of 'Approved Associations' in the Adult Education Regulations of 1924, but it was not the preferred solution of the Board of Education.[1]

Under the co-operative arrangements between L.E.A.s and voluntary bodies, Adult Education Joint Committees, analagous to the existing arrangements with the Universities through Tutorial Classes Joint Committees, should be established. These could operate on a regional basis and be representative of the interests of universities, voluntary organisations and L.E.A.s Agreed programmes would be included in the proposed L.E.A. schemes for educational provision required under the draft regulations and would form a distinct element in the block grant formula which could then identified and allocated to the new Committees for apportionment. The Committees would also provide the apparatus to overcome the indifference of L.E.A.s to cater for the needs of the students seeking liberal adult education provision and secure the role of the voluntary organisations.

> "The lack of success of non-vocational classes arranged by Local Education Authorities in the past has been largely due, as we have insistently pointed out, to the absence of any organisation of the students. Voluntary bodies might play a very useful part in developing adult education by stimulating the demand for education and by organising groups of students". 2

1. See Chapter 4 p.275.
2. Adult Education Committee Final Report 1919 op.cit. p.165

The recommendation of the establishment of Adult Education Joint Committees was generally supported, and endorsed by the Board's own Adult Education Committee in 1922. [1] In the Eastern District, some development of the idea followed but apart from a few areas such as Kent, in Lancashire and Yorkshire relatively few were established and as late as 1928 the principle of closer co-operation in this way was still being encouraged although it was acknowledged that the failure to generalise the pattern of Adult Education Joint Committees was largely a disinclination of L.E.A.s to collaborate in this particular way.[2]

The Final Report and University Departments of Extra-mural Studies

When considering the role of the universities in liberal adult education, the Final Report, 1919, avoided the difficulty over which the Oxford Report of 1908 had failed - the issue of democratisation of university admissions through major reform. The growing developments in the provincial universities of the admission of students increasingly on merit, assisted by L.E.A. funds and scholarships, had created a new heterogeneous student body without the earlier distinctively social class homogeneity. The influx of ex-servicemen had added to the heterogeneity and extended the age range of undergraduates. Both developments were welcomed by the Report which concentrated on proposals to extend the existing summer meeting and summer school pattern into a year-round opportunities for students from Tutorial Classes, and for professional groups, to permit a broadening of knowledge and understanding through post-experience study, an idea which was not developed in the economic difficulties of the nineteen twenties.

1. Paper No. 1 1922 op.cit. pp.6-7
2. H.Samuels 'Education Committes : Their Powers & Duties" Fabian Tract No,225 Fabian Society 1928 p.12

However, the major contribution of the Report to the development of liberal adult education was in the recommendations for the establishment under academic leadership of departments of extra-mural education. The reasons adduced were impressive. The traditional role of the universities in their contribution to the development of liberal adult education was a distinguished one, as a result of which there had been an aggregation of functions for university extension, Tutorial Classes, summer meetings and summer schools. The development of Tutorial Classes and joint committee arrangements now required equality of recognition, administration, and funding with the long-established university extension arrangements. Some improved form of co-ordination was essential for the manifold activities of the universities and to stimulate new developments in adult education on a systematic basis and provide a recognised link for the university with the non-academic world. Departments of extra-mural studies would provide a tangible recognition of this function of the university as a normal and necessary part of its activities. Increased financial support was necessary for the work of universities in this sphere both from the universities themselves and through increased governmental support. In addition to an academic head of the department, there was an urgent need to provide finance to enable activities to be adequately staffed by a cadre of salaried, tenured administrative and tutorial staff including residential tutors for adult education in outlying districts.

In Cambridge, the Syndicate for Local Examinations and Lectures endorsed the Report's recommendations early in 1920; in 1922 the Royal Commission on Oxford and Cambridge Universities also accepted the Report's recommendations and the Board of Extra Mural Studies was established in Michaelman Term, 1924.[1]

1. See Chapter 5.

As already noted, the problem for all voluntary endeavour in liberal adult education was its dependence on securing financial aid to assist its provision. Apart from Morant's promise of the "golden stream" for Tutorial Classes which was implemented from 1908 onwards, finance was a perennial problem for the W.E.A. The 1917 draft regulations and the Adult Education Regulations of 1924 indicated an instinctive preference by the Board of Education for more orthodox methods of providing financial aid through statutory bodies, principally L.E.A.s to which increasing duties for educational development were being devolved. When L.E.A.s did not respond to the encouragement of the Board after 1924, it turned to the universities in 1932 and again in 1938 through Regulations providing specific support for activities of extra-mural departments in the approval of salaried tutors and new types of university classes, respectively.[1] During the inter-war period University extra-mural departments fulfilled initially all the expectations and hopes of the Final Report, 1919. Vigorous, innovative co-ordinating they developed provision for adult education in remarkably diverse ways and at all levels from short introductory courses to the established Tutorial Classes and involved a wide variety of voluntary organisations of which the W.E.A. remained the most important. Of all the new departments the first, at University College Nottingham, established in 1920, was also the most remarkable for its intra-mural status and extra-mural achievements.[2] The pattern established at Nottingham was emulated by others and certainly appears to have informed and illuminated the policies of the Cambridge Board of Extra Mural Studies after 1928 when its first Secretary D.H.S. Cranage, was replaced by G.F. Hickson.

1. See Chapter 4
2. See Adult Education in the East Midlands 1920-1926. University College Nottingham n.d. passim

The establishment of university departments of extra-mural studies led to a further rapid expansion in liberal adult education, at first in close co-operation with the W.E.A. but increasingly concerned with provision for all sections of society. To the discomfiture of the W.E.A. extra-mural departments developed courses at academic standards below those traditionally associated with earlier provision. The proliferation of short course led in some areas to a competitive, non-co-operative relationship in which superiority of the resources of extra-mural departments, especially in finance and staffing, led to their pre-eminence by the end of the inter-war period as the major providers of liberal adult education. The crisis for the continued existence of the W.E.A., and other Responsible Bodies, reached a peak in the early nineteen fifties which was survived only through the unequivocal support of the voluntary principle by the Ashby Report of 1954.[1]

The Final Report and Voluntary Organisations

Throughout the Final Report, 1919, there runs an indelible strand of the centrality of voluntary effort to all liberal adult education endeavour. The record of the past had been distinguished by, and belonged to the inspiration of, voluntary effort without which little provision could have been made. For the future,

> "The influence of voluntary bodies will continue to be needed in order to counteract the sterilising effects inherent in organised education and to safeguard the freedom of both students and teachers; but effective voluntary associations are also vital to the continuance and progressive development of adult education. Neither universities nor local authorities can do much more than make provision for education; it is not their function and they are not equipped to focus demands and to organise potential students. Unless this work is done with some thoroughness, the educational facilities which are available will not attract those who might take advantage of them, nor will they meet the needs of the students... Indeed, we would go so far as to say that, broadly speaking, the advance of adult education can proceed only as quickly as these agencies can stimulate, focus and organise the demand for it; and that, in the last resort, the volume of educational

1. The Organisation and Finance of Adult Education in England and Wales H.M.S.O. 1954.

> activity is determined, not by the capacity of the Universities and Education Authorities to provide facilities, but by the ability of organising bodies to give shape and substance to the demand". 1

Here was the major principle for the continuing existence and unique importance of voluntary organisations. In the light of the future success of university extra-mural departments, the claim was exaggerated but at the time, it was an undeniable one as Local Authorities had not stimulated or provided any significant volume of liberal adult education activities. The universities might have thought themselves unfairly bracketed with L.E.A.s as there were many university extension centres in existence which had demonstrated the ability to focus and organise demand for courses although it was for middle class rather than working class interests.

> "Nevertheless, although university extension "had set out to take the university to the people, it did not overtly seek to promote the interests of any specific section of society.... there was a tendency of these organisations (i.e. local university centres) to become inward rather than outward-looking, dilettantish social gatherings rather than part of a social movement, with an explicit goal". 2

More fundamental and justifiable was the Report's claim for voluntaryism as a principle essential to the general vitality of a democratic society.

> "The free association of individuals is a normal process in a civilised society... It is not primarily a result of defective public organisations; it grows out of the existence of human needs which the State and municipality cannot satisfy. Voluntary organisations .. are fundamentally similar in their nature, in that they unite for a defined end people with a common interest. There is, therefore, in a voluntary body a definite point of view, a common outlook, a common purpose, which give it a corporate spirit of its own. This corporate spirit is, perhaps, the most valuable basis for group study. It is to be found in trade unions, adult schools, co-operative societies and other bodies. Voluntary organisations, consequently, form the best nucleus for adult classes." 3

1. Adult Education Committee Final Report, 1919. op.cit. p.114
2. B.W. Pashley University Extension Reconsidered University of Leicester 1968. p.4
3. Ibid p.114

The Final Report 1919 also was notable for the clear social objectives attributed to liberal adult education. The resignation of Mansbridge had been a moment for the W.E.A. to re-assess its aims and purposes and by 1919 a clearer recognition of adult education as an important contributory factor in the growth of responsible citizenship and service to society had emerged. Mansbridge's view that education was emancipation had not been unchallenged before the war. In 1908, Zimmern had seen the purpose of the W.E.A. as being:

"our business to fuse knowledge and power into one" 1

'The Highway' in the same year carried several articles and letters emphasising the objectives of the Oxford Report as providing opportunities for training of leaders for the improvement of the standards in, and the quality of, working class life to which they belonged.[2] Temple at the annual meeting at Sheffield, in the following year combined the education of the individual with the interests of the community:

> "You must take the individual and develop him to the limits of capacity and then you will find the interest of the community and the interest of the individual will always coincide ... because it will always be profitable to the community to do what is profitable to such a citizen". 3

The Report placed its main emphasis on the social functions of education. The period before the war when the W.E.A. had genuinely forseen the possibility of the W.E.A. working towards its own extinction was now abandoned in favour of a clear necessity for the continued existence of voluntary organisations to counteract the centralising, bureaucratically insensitive tendencies of the statutory bodies.

Finally, for the purposes of this study, the Final Report 1919 had an important section on the development of rural areas which again emphasised the social role of adult education. A more detailed consideration of this section

1. 'The Highway' Vol. No. 1 October 1908 p.28
2. Ibid. The first two issues of the W.E.A. journal contained an assessment of the importance of the Oxford Report and a wide range of opinion on its likely effects.
3. Ibid Vol.2 No.14 Supplement December 1909 p.6

of the Report is made in the context of the development of rural adult education provision in the Eastern District particularly in connection with the Report's recommendations for the appointment of resident tutors. In this respect especially, the Eastern District was amongst the first to experiment; firstly in Norfolk within a year of the publication of the Report, later in the decade in Bedfordshire with a successful rural scheme, with mixed success in East Suffolk in the early nineteen thirties and with an exceptionally promising scheme in Norfolk the success of which was checked by the outbreak of the war in 1939.

Although many of the problems associated with the social and economic ills of the countryside were evident in the statutory school system, and were considered by the Board's Adult Education Committee, no serious attempt was made to overcome the deficiencies for adult education identified by the Final Report until the Adult Education Regulations were revised in 1932. These were devoted almost entirely to the development of liberal adult education in rural areas following an acceptance of the urgent necessity to undertake adult education in rural areas which had been identified in two Papers on the Adult Education Committee in 1922 and 1927, both of which endorsed the recommendations of the Final Report 1919, the subsequent experience of the W.E.A. and of some of newly established extra mural departments.

These extracts from the Report reflected precisely the attitude of the W.E.A. to its purpose and place in the constellation of national educational provision. The Report thus served to emphasise the functions of the W.E.A. as complementary to, rather than in competition with, the statutory bodies. It provided the bais for the existence of a District organisation to articulate, organise and provide liberal adult education facilities in co-operation with both universities and L.E.A.s. The independence of voluntary organisations was essential to the democratic state and the significance of the comparison between those wholly involved in education with other independent voluntary organisations

such as trade unions and co-operative societies was intended not to be lost upon those who read the Report. The previous decade had shown that it was only the W.E.A. which had managed to stimulate and combine the interests of these organisations for educational provision and successfully provided for the demand which had arisen from working class organisations. Its case for financial assistance on a more generous scale was thus as irrefutable as it believed it to be irreplaceable.

Throughout the Report there was a sustained advocacy for the continuation of the essential principle of voluntaryism in liberal adult education. The threat of the revised draft regulations probably increased the sharply focussed nature of the arguments in their favour, because the proposals for L.E.A. control through a block grant system touched on the most vulnerable area of the voluntary organisations. The inherent financial weakness of most voluntary organisations was recognised by the Report and formed the basis for the plea for a co-operative partnership with statutory bodies, and continued recognition of the unique contribution of voluntary organisations.

> "But now that there is a widespread educational movement amongst adults which, after a period of tentative experiment has established itself, we may expect the state to give it every encouragement and assistance, in the interests of good citizenship and national well-being.... The real danger to the national welfare is not from students pursuing their studies animated with a particular view of things, but rather from the far larger number of those who pursue no intellectual interests, and have made no efforts to equip themselves for the duties of citizenship and the organised activities of the community". 1

The growth and development of the Eastern District of the W.E.A. from 1913 to 1940 occurred within the separate but overlapping recommendations of the Oxford and Final Reports. At almost every stage in its development, the

1. Ibid pp.117-119

ideas which stimulated and encouraged its members and officers arose from the Oxford Report in connection with the organisation, conduct and objectives of its Tutorial Classes and its relations with the University of Cambridge at least until 1932 when the binocular view of co-operative endeavour in liberal adult education moved out of a common focus. The deterioration of the relationship began when the University's Board of Extra Mural Studies sought to supplant the District as the providing body for courses and classes a responsibility which it had held if not exercised to any great extent in rural East Anglia. The Final Report 1919, laid the guidelines for the respective roles of the L.E.A.s, University and the District during the nineteen twenties which governed their relationships in the provision, organisation and maintenance of enterprise and endeavour. In the Eastern District, the Report's assessment of the relatively inactive part which L.E.A.s were likely to play in aiding facilities for adult education, with the exceptions of Norfolk and Bedfordshire, was almost entirely accurante. Again, the Report's approach to the central role of the voluntary organisations was exemplified by the attempts made by the District to organise potential students into centres and Branches, to articulate and satisfy the demand through the provision of courses and classes and through the support of the teaching resources of the University and in securing financial support from L.E.A.s for its educational activities.

Conclusion

Two important developments of the inter-war period became the major pre-occupations of the W.E.A. The adjustment to the changing nature of the student demand and the required adaptation to a new situation following the establishment of university extra mural departments which arose from the recommendations of the Final Report, 1919, and the Royal Commission on Oxford and Cambridge Universities, 1922. Although there continued to be a development of the closest possible co-operation between the new departments and the W.E.A. at Cambridge, at least, there developed some unease in the relationships particularly following the revision of the Adult Education Regulations in

1931-32, when the earlier demarcation between clearly defined spheres of responsibility in the provision of adult education was removed in connection with the development of adult educational facilities in rural areas. Under the Regulations, universities had an exclusive advantage through the ability to appoint resident tutor organisers whose salaries were supported by direct grants from the Board of Education.

During the nineteen twenties and thirties, the emphasis in the Eastern District was on the development of rural areas which had been successfully pioneered in the later years of the previous decade by the W.E.A. through the generous assistance of the Cassel and Carnegie Trusts. In this respect the Eastern District had played an important role, initially through a three year appointment in Bedfordshire which had been an outstandingly successful experiment under the skilled leadership of Harold Shearman and later, although less successfully, in East Suffolk when the tutor had been William Whiteley. It was ironic that after the success of the W.E.A. initiatives the 1932 Adult Education Regulations denied the Association the opportunity of capitalising on earlier, successful experience.

At Cambridge, the Board of Extra Mural Studies became involved in rural adult education substantially through its assumption of financial and providing responsibility in Bedfordshire in 1930 and almost immediately appointed two further resident tutors in Cambridgeshire and Northamptonshire at a time when the Eastern District was struggling to maintain itself under the most difficult of financial circumstances. Through its Rural Areas Sub-committee the Board of Extra Mural Studies evolved a policy for the provision of short courses of lower academic standard than those in which it had earlier experience. The Eastern District opposed this extension of the University's providing powers for courses which it believed were more appropriately its own to provide and a difficult situation developed involving the national Association in concerted opposition to any extension of the university's providing powers unless under a jointly controlled scheme.

When in 1937, the Board of Extra Mural Studies decided to appoint resident tutors in Norfolk and Essex, the W.E.A. countered with an appointment of its own organising secretary in Norfolk, assisted by a three year grant from the Cassel Trust and with the financial support of the county and Norwich L.E.A.s. At the outbreak of the war in 1939, the situation was still largely one of antipathetic non-co-operation and was not finally resolved until the post war period when the new education Act re-defined the relationships, but did not resolve the problem for the W.E.A.

CHAPTER 2

Formation and Early Years

The successful, vigorous early growth of the W.E.A., recounted in several publications, led in 1905 to the beginnings of a rudimentary District organisation through the emergence of area committees with honorary secretaries appointed in the North West and South West regions following conferences of adult students at the universities of Manchester and Exeter respectively.[1] By 1908, three areas - North West, South Wales and the Midlands had appointed full-time salaried secretaries and of the 50 Branches in existence more than one half had attached themselves to a District organisation; the rest continued their links directly with the central office of the W.E.A.[2]

The pattern of decentralisation and local autonomy thus began to emerge, encouraged by Mansbridge as a central tenet of existence, and reflected in the 1907 revised constitution of the W.E.A. in which provision was made for the representation of Districts on the Central Council of the Association as the governing body of the movement. It was recognised that the key figure then, as now, was the District Secretary. The policy of establishing district organisations with full-time secretaries was correctly regarded as crucial for a variety of reasons. With local autonomy of groups and Branches it was essential that some mechanism should exist to organise, administer and sustain the 'demand' requirement from students - existing or potential.

1. See Mansbridge's University Tutorial Classes (1914), An Adventure in Working Class Education (1920), The Trodden Road (1940), T.W. Price The Story of the W.E.A. (1924)
2. Mary Stocks The Workers Educational Association (1953)

Further, an official was required to observe and meticulously interpret the existing Board of Education Regulations, not then designed to provide liberal adult education; to persuade L.E.A.s to provide financial support for classes which they did not organise and never had arranged; to link with university authorities in the provision of classes and to attempt the task of enlisting support, both in enrolment and finance, from the trade unions.

These were recognised as, and proved to be, extremely difficult, complex tasks requiring a variety of personal skills of a high order. To these were added the equally difficult tasks of initiating, encouraging and co-ordinating the formation of student groups; the creation of W.E.A. branches; attracting adults to classes and meeting their demands for particular courses through the engagement of lecturers and tutors. Within a short time, it was recognised that the District organisation provided the only sensible and practicable way forward for a self-governing movement of adults. Tawney believed the District occupied "the strategic position" in the W.E.A. and the role of the District Secretary was pivotal in its organisation.

However, a major inherent weakness existed in its greatest strength as a democratic, fully participative voluntary educational movement. The autonomy of branches led to parochialism and made more difficult the development of a national movement; subscriptions from branches to central funds were reluctantly contributed and always with a sense of uncertainty about their need or value.

Even at District level there was no clear recognition of the importance of the necessity to fund and support non-Branch activities. For the Eastern District, the problem became a perennial one and it was

constantly in debt through inadequate sources of district-generated income to support the organisation, extension and maintenance of class activities. More seriously, the financial deficits over many years placed the District in a weak, insecure position in its relationships with other providing bodies mainly the L.E.A.s and university. During the nineteen-twenties and throughout the period up to the outbreak of the War in 1939, the District suffered from an accumulated sense of weakness in its position and authority when L.E.A.s and the University of Cambridge became more active.

The national Association, of course, did much to supplement and remove some of the most pressing of the financial problems of the Eastern District during the period up to the War in 1939, but it, too, was rarely free of major financial problems and thus confined its support in the Eastern District to ensuring the retention of the salaried District Secretary. The dependence of the Eastern District on the national subvention became habitual and it is clear that its reliance on the provision of funds from the national Association led to rather less than strenuous attempts by the District to become financially self-supporting until the final years of the period under review.

Mansbridge was, as in so many other matters in the early years of the existence of the W.E.A., the architect of the branch and federal district organisation. It was as a direct result of his initiative that the Eastern District was established in 1913. The precise circumstances which led to its formation are not entirely clear, in the sense that it formed no part of a declared policy plan, except that after the lead taken by Oxford it was imperative that similar arrangements should be made at Cambridge even though, as noted earlier,[1] the latter

1. See Chapter 1. p. 64.

university had a traditional pre-occupation with the origin, growth and development of the university extension movement from 1873. Nevertheless, the kind of relationship which Mansbridge and others had conceived and shaped with Oxford was equally desirable and important to the W.E.A. and Cambridge. Mansbridge, the consummate opportunist and apostle, seized a set of adventitious circumstances, and probably helped to contrive them, which appears now to be a fortuitous conjunction of people, events and timing which he undoubtedly orchestrated.[1]

The Elements

Early in 1912, G.H. Pateman, a Mancunian carpenter, moved to Letchworth in search of improved health and regular employment. At that time Letchworth, the first of the generation of extra-metropolitan planned 'New Towns', was being developed and presented many opportunities for employment for those in the construction industry. Pateman also had an uncle already there, and with whom he lived for the first few years. The town had a number of active voluntary societies for its 'new' population amongst which was a recently formed, active branch of the W.E.A. which Pateman joined almost immediately and of which he became honorary secretary in 1912.[2] When living in Manchester, Pateman had been a member of the first Tutorial Class held in the city in 1909. Even earlier, as an active member of the Independent Labour Party (I.L.P.) and his Union, he had been impressed by reports of Mansbridge's activities for working class education, and had joined the W.E.A. He believed totally in the Mansbridge belief

1. Bernard Jennings in Albert Mansbridge & English Adult Education Univ. of Hull, 1976, avers that "Mansbridge was not a simple-minded evangelist - an 'inspired child' as one of his friends put it (Prof. J.H. Jones) - but a skilful manipulator with a subtle mind and a ruthless streak" (p.13).
2. Conversation with Pateman October, 1965.

that the W.E.A. could provide those opportunities necessary for the creation of an educated democracy through the continuation of education for adults whose formal education had ended at the statutory age of 14 years or even earlier.[1]

In the 1909 Tutorial class in Manchester, Pateman met William Lowth, a printer, who was not merely to become an important figure in the W.E.A. but who was also to play a decisive indirect role in shaping Pateman's ultimate career when they met again in Letchworth, in 1912, to which Lowth had also removed in search of employment.

Pateman first met Mansbridge in 1912 when he attended a meeting in London; possibly at the Southwark Branch.[2] Like so many others, Pateman was profoundly influenced by the mercurial quality of Mansbridge and his dynamism: qualities which had already made Mansbridge a national figure and which Pateman lacked. Pateman became a devoted admirer, a friend and colleague regarding him as"the lynch-pin in the development of the Movement", a view which he held without modification throughout his life and which subsequently coloured his views on Mansbridge's successors, especially Mactavish.[3]

In his capacity as secretary to the Letchworth Branch of the W.E.A., Pateman invited Mansbridge to speak at a meeting in the new town, at which Pateman again met Lowth. Mansbridge invited both men to join forces with him in working for the W.E.A., mainly to develop and consolidate its growth through the establishment of a new W.E.A.

1. T. Kelly Outside the Walls p.53. In conversation with Williams Pateman recalled, incorrectly, that the class was held in 1908.
2. Pateman could not remember at which meeting he first met Mansbridge because he met him frequently in many places subsequently.
3. Conversation with Pateman, October, 1965.

district in Eastern England, apparently without any geographical definition. Both agreed to his proposal but in the event Mansbridge chose only one, Lowth, for the new venture.

In Pateman's view the choice of Lowth was entirely correct and appropriate. At that stage in the development of the W.E.A. it was vital to attract the attention, and enlist the support, of the trade unions, a matter in which the W.E.A. had not been conspicuously successful in its early years and which had attracted much adverse comment. Lowth undoubtedly had greater value in this respect than Pateman as Lowth's father was then General Secretary of the Associated Society of Railway Servants (later the National Union of Railwaymen).[1] Lowth moved to the central office of the W.E.A. in Red Lion Square, London, as acting secretary, pro tem, of the new district and began to develop a skeletal communication system with existing W.E.A. Branches and encouraged individual branch activities in a dauntingly large area extending from the fringe of London through East Anglia to Lincoln.[2]

Many years later, Pateman claimed to have told Mansbridge in 1912, when he and Lowth had their discussion with him at Letchworth, that he foresaw the strength of the W.E.A. at Branch rather than at the District level which Mansbridge was then proposing to establish. Further, he thought Mansbridge's envisaged District would be extremely difficult to establish, organise and maintain. He told Mansbridge "it would break the heart of the first man, but the second man might succeed".[3]

1. Ibid
2. The London District had been formed in 1912, with the District Secretary H. Goodman, housed at the Central Office.
3. Conversation with Pateman, October 1965.

Nevertheless, with Lowth's assistance, Mansbridge proceeded with the establishment of the new District in the early months of 1913. Apparently, by July 1913, the few existing branches of the W.E.A. in the nascent District had been visited by Lowth and then circularised about the proposed district organisation. The Branches were: Colchester, Ipswich, Kettering, Letchworth, Lincoln, Luton, Norwich and Wellingborough. Some of these had originated as university extension centres and organised courses under the Cambridge University Syndicate or Oxford University Extension Delegacy.[1]

Establishment

The first District meeting, of which there is a record, was on 29 March, 1913, at Trinity College, Cambridge and attended in accordance with W.E.A. practice by secretaries of existing branches. In his capacity as branch secretary of Letchworth, Pateman was present, but in 1965 could not re-call any details of the meeting except that it was agreed to proceed with the establishment of the new District. He did remember that it was his first visit to Cambridge and his enduring and most vivid memory was the unique pleasure of taking tea in an undergraduate's room at Trinity![2]

His failure to re-call details of the meeting of which no record exists is hardly surprising. He was a regular attender at many meetings at that time, of which some were in connection with education, others for political reasons and even more in connection with his trade union activities. The W.E.A. was not among his most important or urgent concerns in 1912-13. The greatest claims on his time and

1. For example, prior to 1913, Wellingborough and Luton were organised under Oxford.
2. Details of the Meeting are from Pateman's personal diary and discussed with him, November, 1965.

effort were his union activities. Although only 24 years old, he was becoming prominent in Letchworth as a trade unionist. In 1913 he became chairman of the local trades council as well as secretary of the local branch of the Associated Society of Carpenters & Joiners, in which capacity he arranged practical classes for his fellow members to improve their skills as craftsmen. As a member of the I.L.P. he was active in local politics, narrowly failing to win a seat on the parish council in May, 1913, a more important office then than now. Also in May, 1913, he was made 'President' of the strike committee of Letchworth carpenters; organised a march of those in dispute with their employers, the New Town Corporation, and gave evidence to the conciliation council established to resolve the dispute which was chaired by Sir George Asquith. He eventually negotiated an end to the dispute with an increase in the hourly rate of ½d. an hour, an honourable compromise on the claimed 1d. an hour which led to the strike.[1]

About the same time, he was appointed a member of the Managing Body of Norton Elementary School, Letchworth. The appointment is significant in its indication of the value which Pateman, even then, attached to education and in which he differed from many of his contemporaries of similar political persuasion. The managing body of the school held their meetings during afternoons and although Pateman 'lost time' and therefore wages, he "thought it worthwhile as education was the key to everything" - an appropriate sentiment from a disciple of Mansbridge.[2]

As part of his political activities Pateman participated in

1. Discussion with Pateman November, 1965.
2. Conversation with Pateman, November, 1965.

meetings in support of women's suffrage and at Letchworth first met Mrs. Clara Rackham, a non-militant suffrage activist from Cambridge when she addressed a public meeting in the town. He could hardly have imagined that some years later she would work closely with him in the cause of adult education as Chairman of the Eastern District.[1]

Gradually, Pateman became more closely involved with the W.E.A. At Mansbridge's invitation he became a member of the council for the South East District in January, 1913, and in the following month, again at Mansbridge's suggestion, he returned to Manchester to attend a meeting of the Central W.E.A.[2] But perhaps the one event which gave most immediate gratification was his attendance, in July, 1912, at the Summer Meeting at Balliol College, Oxford, when he realised a long-held ambition to attend a W.E.A. summer school, first conceived as a student in the Manchester tutorial class in 1909. Here, he experienced the combination of adult working men and women with distinguished Oxford tutors. To attend the Summer Meeting he cycled from Letchworth, a distance of some 50 miles, and the experience that summer made a deep and lasting impression on him which ensured his enthusiasm for the value of summer schools so that in due course as District Secretary, he became the energetic organiser of the Cambridge University summer school for many years.

Pateman also met Mansbridge once again at Oxford, and, for the first time, E.S. Cartwright, Organising Secretary of the Oxford Joint

1. Clara Rackham, a leading non-militant suffragette, was a don at Girton College, Cambridge and wife of a Fellow of Christ's College. She later became a tutor for the W.E.A. and Chairman of the Eastern District. She was for several years an important and influential member of the District.
2. These details are derived from conversations with Pateman in October and November, 1965.

Committee and a student in the first Longton Tutorial Class, Zimmern, and, of course, Tawney. The greatest impression made on him at Oxford was his meeting with Reuben George of the Swindon branch. George appears to have had, with Mansbridge, a profound effect on Pateman's attitudes to the potentiality of the W.E.A.'s contribution to the education of working people, denied educational opportunities in earlier life. In several conversations with Pateman, no other name evoked comparable warm admiration, except Mansbridge's, in recalling people or events over a period of at least fifty years' experience in adult education. Pateman considered George "a wonderful man" who was "the best example of a working man who wanted to know."[1] Reuben George, an insurance agent from Swindon, lacked formal education but possessed an extraordinary capacity and sensitivity for literature.[2] According to Pateman, his own admiration for George was shared by Archbishop Temple who "worshipped him" and officiated at Reuben George's funeral some years later.

It appears reasonably certain that by the summer of 1913 Pateman's interest and involvement in the W.E.A. was no longer a peripheral activity: he had met the major figures in the Association, attended his first summer meeting and had been impressed while there with the genuine interest and support of those Oxford University tutors who had contributed greatly to the early growth of the W.E.A. Above all, in the summer of 1913 he had accepted the office of honorary

1. Discussion with Pateman, November, 1965. At this time, Pateman was in his mid-seventies, a small wizened man with only the embers of personality surviving. His speech was slow, hesitant, almost mechanical, but his eyes glowed with genuine warmth and the pace of his speech quickened when recounting experiences of Reuben George.
2. As an example of Reuben George's ability, Pateman recalled being with him in London when by chance they came upon Goldsmith's statue in Fleet Street which prompted George to pause and recite the 'Deserted Village' without hesitation or error.

secretary to the new Eastern District, replacing Lowth. He did not know why his name had been put forward for the appointment, but believed that it had been Mansbridge's idea. Certainly, he was aware that Mansbridge was not anxious for Lowth to devote any more of his time and energy to the new District since Mansbridge wanted him to extend his activities in the developing links between the W.E.A. and the trade unions.

In re-calling the circumstances over fifty years later, Pateman resisted the temptation of claiming any prescience about the future growth of the District: he had not sought the position of District Secretary, neither was he pushed into it. He simply believed he could assist in the growth of a new District organisation and that he should use his talents and experience to help Mansbridge. Further, and from a personal standpoint, the immediate duties did not appear very demanding and he envisaged the new role as one of providing information for the few branches, acting as a reference source for existing and parturient Branches linking them to the central organisation at the London office.

It is possible that Mansbridge had sensed the growing interest and involvement of Pateman in the W.E.A. He was aware of his influential position in trade union affairs in Letchworth which might with advantage to the W.E.A. be used to stimulate and extend links with other unions at local and regional levels. Further, there appears to be no evidence of Mansbridge's gaining a foothold in the Cambridge district with recognisably working class organisations, industrial or voluntary, and the young Pateman might well have been regarded as the instrument by which the W.E.A. might grow from an artisan base rather than from the university initiative, which did

not appear to be forthcoming, on the Oxford model.[1]

Pateman's initial activities as honorary district secretary were heavily circumscribed. Long hours of employment, the demands of his trade union responsibilities, and the limited pace and range of his cycling from Letchworth meant that visits to local Branches were the limit of his direct activities on behalf of the W.E.A. However on Saturdays the railways carried him further afield with less difficulty to Branches such as Wellingborough, which at that time was an Oxford tutorial class centre, and Luton. It was at the latter centre that Pateman met John G. Newlove, an Oxford Delegacy tutor and former adult student at Ruskin College, and who some years later became the Eastern District's first resident tutor in Norfolk.[2]

In these ways, and through correspondence with the Central Office of the W.E.A., Pateman began to learn the role of an intermediary between the Branches and the Association; to arrange for speakers to give single public lectures, to become a supplier of 'The Highway' to Branches and to make contact with well-wishers, subscribers and enquirers interested in the activities of the W.E.A. He also began to learn about the provision of the Tutorial Classes in the region and beyond through his membership of the Cambridge Syndicate's Joint Committee for Tutorial Classes, established in the summer of 1913. However, it was a very tentative, limited first year's experience for a young man with little enough time on his hands during the week and only marginally greater freedom at weekends.

At the first annual general meeting held in July, 1914, at the

1. See Chapter 1, p. 64.
2. See Chapter 3, p. 162.

Passmore Edwards Settlement, Tavistock Place, London, Pateman was re-elected as honorary secretary in his absence. He was unable to attend because he had become ill largely through a combination of overwork and a physical pre-disposition to ill-health. During his first year, the growth of the District had not been encouraging: Branches had been formed at Kettering which was a revival of interest in the W.E.A. and at Norwich, but the individual membership total for the District's seven Branches had increased from 189 to only 224. The anxiety about the District's future was almost completely forgotten by the outbreak of war in the following month. There was little activity in the District during the summer of 1914, not because of the war but through Pateman's continuing illness during a period of the year when much of the planning of classes and lectures for the 1914-15 session should have been undertaken.

The Effect of the War on the District's Organisation

The tenuous, makeshift District 'organisation' revolved around the activities of its honorary secretary who had been ill for an extended period during its first year of existence, and which was immediately followed by the national emergency. Worse was to follow: Pateman, a convinced pacifist, experienced considerable personal difficulties, the nature of these being illustrated from his letter to Miss Dorothy Jones, Mansbridge's secretary, 26 October, 1914:

> "I feel uncertain as to the future, things are very bad here and I may have to move; while there are married men walking about I shall be out of work. The only work ... is building Military Huts on Salisbury Plain and elsewhere and my conscience keeps me away from Military centres. A result (sic) of refusing work at one of these my unemployment benefit has been suspended so I am living on my savings. That of course cannot go on, so if I do not get work locally soon I must consider moving. Should this happen I would ask you to look after my district until my return."[1]

1. Pateman's letter book

The sense of commitment and identification with the District conveyed by the personal pronouns in the final sentence is an indication of the development of Pateman's attitude during the previous year. In November he volunteered to work in a non-combatant unit of the Society of Friends and in the Spring of 1915 went to central France where he was employed in the construction of hutted accommodation for refugees from the battle areas.[1]

As he had suggested, Pateman's duties as District Secretary were assumed by Dorothy Jones, in addition to her work for Mansbridge at the Central Office of the W.E.A. At this time, Mansbridge was in Australia where he had gone following a serious illness in June, 1913, and it was thus possible for Miss Jones to undertake the additional work involved. In 1916, Pateman returned briefly on leave and immediately entered the growing activities of the District. For example, he spoke at a public meeting in Bedford called to consider the formation of a W.E.A. Branch, which by the end of the war had become the largest in the District. Before returning to France, he met J.M. Mactavish, who had succeeded Mansbridge as General Secretary of the W.E.A. in February, 1916; in Pateman's words "a real Scot: fiery" and they were not destined to co-operate in future years.[2]

Following several months again spent in France working for the War Victims Relief Committee, Pateman returned to a post at the London H.Q. of the Society of Friends until on 1st September, 1917, he was appointed as the first full-time salaried Secretary of the Eastern

1. During the Second War, when lecturing H.M. Forces personnel in E. Anglia, Pateman often referred to his "service" in France, without disclosing its nature.
2. See Chapter 3,

District.[1] The appointment had been half-promised by Mansbridge in 1915 when, although not fully recovered from his illness, he had attended the second annual meeting of the District at Queens' College, Cambridge, at which he committed the Central Council to favourable consideration of such an appointment subject to continued growth of the District and improved financial position of the national W.E.A. Unquestionably, Mansbridge was conscious of the importance of an alliance with Cambridge University, which perhaps was even more significant than the modest growth of the District between 1915 and 1917. Mactavish honoured the undertaking given by Mansbridge and Pateman discussed the appointment informally with Mansbridge before accepting it, conscious of the importance of establishing the District office in Cambridge and the further development of the existing formal links with the University Syndicate and the Tutorial Classes Committee which Mansbridge had always desired.[2]

The Importance of Cambridge University

That the successful creation of the W.E.A. and its growth was assured in its first decade through the wholehearted endeavours, co-operation and acceptance of its role by senior members of the academic staff of colleges at Oxford is freely acknowledged and well documented.[3] It was also, in part, set within a context of dissatisfaction within Oxford University with the use and abuse of the

1. Special Meeting of the District Council, 1 September, 1917. Minute Book No. 1.
2. Annual Meeting of the District 2 July, 1915, Queens' College. Minute Book No. 1. Pateman was able to accept the appointment because having appeared before the War Service Tribunal on at least two earlier occasions he was granted the comparatively rare absolute exemption and registered as a conscientious objector.
3. See Mansbridge University Tutorial Classes passim, T.W. Price op.cit. Chaps. I and III.

opportunities available to privileged members of society, the 'idle pass men' and the failure of the University to relate its academic studies to contemporary life. All of this had stimulated the reforming zeal of tutors at Oxford such as Tawney, Ball, Zimmern and Temple who belonged to the Catiline Club, a group of radical academics who contributed a series of articles to 'The Times' entitled "Oxford and the Nation" in the Spring of 1907, the burden of which was that the University should improve its academic standards and democratise its intake of students through using some of the wealth of colleges to provide for able but poor scholars including working men.[1] As part of this radicalism, the conference at Oxford in 1907 led to the report 'Oxford and Working-Class Education' of 1908 with its profound beneficial effects on the future of the W.E.A., and which to a lesser degree achieved some changes in attitudes towards the education of adults and the admission of able students with financial difficulties to the university.[2]

It is not entirely clear why tutors at Cambridge University should not have had similar critical attitudes over its academic standards, restricted entry and divorced condition from the realities of the age. Several factors provide some explanation for the acute difference between the two universities. Jennings offers Oxford as the centre at which intellectual and religious movements which fuelled the zeal of reformers such as T.H. Green, Jowett, the Lux Mundi group and the Christian Social Union during the late nineteenth century and beginning of this century.[3] He also correctly draws attention to the sense felt by Cambridge men, possibly self righteously, about their achievements

1. B. Jennings The Oxford Report Reconsidered Studies in Adult Education N.I.A.E. Vol. 7 No. 1 April, 1975 pp.55-64.
2. Chapter 1, p. 48.
3. B. Jennings op.cit. p.63.

and efforts to raise academic standards, to modernise studies and to facilitate the entry of able, but poor, students; sentiments caught in the 'Cambridge Review' of October, 1907:

> "We have strained our resources to the utmost in opening new schools and new triposes, several colleges have made special efforts to attract the poorer class of men by reducing expenses to a minimum, we have lavished money on scientific apparatus, museums, workshops and the like, and are at present reaping our reward."[1]

But perhaps, equally important was the belief that as far as adult education was concerned Cambridge on "inventing" the university extension movement, had established a considerable lead over Oxford; that its courses were generally more rigorous than those provided by Oxford and its provision was more securely founded than at Oxford. It was relatively content with its record in adult education, which had been accepted as part of university activity and which was eventually given substance through the construction of Stuart House in 1928.

To these sharp differences which existed between Oxford and Cambridge must be added Mansbridge's appraisal of the position. He must have recognised Cambridge's pre-eminent position in university extension, the feeling of quiet self-satisfaction with its endeavours and the fact that it was his own widely publicised criticisms of its effectiveness which had led to the creation of the W.E.A. In this respect a frontal attack on the citadel of university extension would have failed totally. Cambridge had given a focus and pattern to adult education which had enjoyed an acknowledged reputation throughout the country during the previous thirty years, carrying university teaching and stimulation to all conditions of the general populace, including

1. 17 October, 1907

working class organisations, hitherto denied access to university standards in education. James Stuart enjoyed a considerable reputation at Cambridge University, as well as in the country, one which had been enhanced through his marriage into the Coleman family of Norwich.

It was the university extension movement which had demonstrated the means by which adult education could be provided and organised to meet clearly established needs - indeed it had been that movement which had proved the existence of that need, quantified it and provided an adequate response on a country-wide basis which could easily be scaled-up, given adequate financial resources and a supply of able tutors. In almost every sense it had been the progenitor of the more sharply defined policy of the infant W.E.A. to secure adult education specifically for working people. Further, it had been Cambridge which had demonstrated the practicality of an alliance in educational effort between a pioneering, responsive university and an eager adult student movement recognisable through the many extension societies which had been formed for these purposes. Cambridge had already made a distinguished contribution in this field, had taken the fundamentally important first step, and an essential one in growth of liberal adult education. The second step which Cambridge willingly made was in the organisation and provision of university tutorial classes to provide through the existing Syndicate courses for a three year period, which were to meet the new demand organised through the W.E.A. and of shorter duration than some of courses of study already provided at a number of Cambridge extension centres.[1]

1. For example in 1907-08 there were 8 centres with 4-year courses.

Cambridge did not agree with Sidney Ball's criticism of the extension movement at the Oxford Conference in 1907, as "an experience if not of disillusion, (at least) of failure and disappointment." Indeed, in the House of Lords debate which arose partially from the articles in 'The Times' in May 1907, G.F. Browne, Bishop of Bristol and former Secretary to the Cambridge Syndicate for Local Lectures, claimed that:

> "We have our hands upon all the various classes of the community, so far as education is concerned... By means of affiliated colleges and local lectures ... the local lectures were instituted by Cambridge for the special purpose of doing precisely what the Bishop of Birmingham has described - we send skilled men from Cambridge accustomed to teach there, down to the great centres, and there students are collected to whom these men lecture exactly as they lecture in their own college of University rooms. That has had the most wonderful effect in drawing the University and various classes of the community together."

Thus Browne believed a commission to inquire into provision made by Cambridge University was not required, but if the government thought otherwise, separate commissions should be appointed for Oxford and Cambridge, since the latter did not need any of the reforms which Gore, the Bishop of Birmingham, believed to be necessary at Oxford. Indeed, Browne called upon the government to increase greatly the financial support for the University in recognition of the ways in which it had adapted itself to modern conditions. There is no record of adverse comment upon the ways in which Browne described the methods used in university extension, although these were precisely the reasons for the dissatisfaction to which Mansbridge drew attention in his articles to the University Extension Journal in 1903.[1]

1. See Chapter 1

Although there is evidence of support for the W.E.A. at Cambridge there is some doubt about the degree of genuine enthusiasm for it at the Syndicate. Apart from the development of the Tutorial Class system, it appears that the W.E.A. was regarded as a contributory, albeit important, element in the progress of university extension. The tradition at Cambridge established by Roberts, Browne and Cranage, was that the best methods had been established and there was no occasion to alter radically a tried and tested approach. The influence of Browne, in the House of Lords, and Roberts at London University, where the W.E.A. met resistance to change, was undoubtedly considerable on Cranage, the youngest of the three men and currently then the Secretary to the Syndicate.

Nevertheless, Cranage recognised that he could not be seen in opposition to the W.E.A. He must have known of the fate of his Oxford counterpart, J.A.R. Marriott, who had opposed some of the recommendations of the Oxford group and Mansbridge over the establishment of the new joint committee for tutorial classes at Oxford. The result was that Marriott was calculatedly isolated and effectively emasculated of administrative control of the joint arrangements.[1] Cranage clearly wished to avoid similar treatment even though a similar threat at Cambridge was not immediately visible. Whatever the basic reasons for Cranage's apparent ambiguity it was some years before a University/ W.E.A. Joint Committee for Tutorial Classes was established, although Cambridge did arrange under the aegis of the Syndicate of the Local Lectures Board, a few tutorial classes.[2]

Although there was some ambiguity in Cranage's attitude to the

1. B. Jennings op.cit. pp.60-61.
2. See pp. 111-114.

W.E.A. both as a person and as the Secretary to the Syndicate, there can be little doubt over his importance and influence in the early years of the District's existence. Certainly, his essay on 'The Purpose and Meaning of Adult Education'[1] is a persuasive coda to the early growth of adult education in its outlet for the educationally disadvantaged, the ideal of life-long education and the justification for its organisation as an alliance between the universities and voluntary organisations. Much earlier than this essay, he had seen the possibilities for increased financial support from L.E.A.'s, for liberal adult education after the Balfour Education Act, 1902, had replaced the Technical Education Act.[2] His relationship with Mansbridge was unfailingly cordial: as early as 1903 when the Association was only a provisional committee, Cranage, as did Marriott at Oxford, immediately offered assistance in support of Mansbridge's objectives.[3] That year, the summer meeting was held at Oxford at which was generated the subsequent momentum for the W.E.A.'s special relationship with that University. A year earlier, or later, and the summer meeting would have been held in Cambridge: it is, however, open to doubt if a similar relationship with Cambridge University would have been possible, simply because the radical element of the Oxford Catiline Group did not appear to exist at Cambridge.

Nevertheless, the Syndicate did have among its membership two influential members of the University with experience, and a sense of commitment to adult education through the university extension movement: R. St. John Parry and T.C. Fitzpatrick. The W.E.A. arose from dissatisfaction with university extension with which they, and others,

1. In R. St. John Parry (Ed.) 'Cambridge Essays on Adult Education' C.U.P. 1920.
2. In University Extension Journal Vol. 8 pp.66-
3. A. Mansbridge 'The Trodden Road' p.61

did not wholly disagree and thus, with Cranage, and their links with Mansbridge they encouraged the growth of the W.E.A., through recognition of its value in the development of the Tutorial Class. This interpretation would explain the promotion of such classes within the Syndicate's responsibilities some three years in advance of any Joint Committee arrangements.

St. John Parry, as a young Fellow of Trinity College had been much influenced by James Stuart, had been a university extension tutor for several years and continued the college's tradition of its accessibility to adult students. He was, acco rding to Mansbridge, influential in the development of Cambridge University tutorial classes, though his precise role and direct contribution remain unclear, but Mansbridge thought highly of him, a sentiment reciprocated with equal certainty when, as Vice-Master of Trinity, Parry undoubtedly arranged for Mansbridge to become a Senior Member of the College.[1] They were also members of the Adult Education Committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction from 1917 to 1919, as was Tawney.

Equally conspicuous in his support of adult education was Dr. T.C. Fitzpatrick, first Chairman of the Syndicate's Tutorial Classes Committee, Vice-Chancellor of the University and President of Queens' College. His generous support for tutorial classes in the initial period following their introduction under the Cambridge Syndicate was valuable in their gaining acceptance as "an established and essential part of the normal work of a University."[2]

It is possible that with the very positive attitude of these

1. Ibid pp.165-168
2. 'Thomas Cecil Fitzpatrick: a Memoir' C.U.P. 1937, pp.36-41.

two distinguished University members of the Syndicate and its Tutorial Classes Committee Cranage did all that could be done to encourage the establishment and maintenance of tutorial classes. His direct influence as Secretary was considerable and in 1924, when the W.E.A. celebrated its 21st. Anniversary, the commemorative pamphlet recognised his personal role and contribution to the success of the tutorial classes.[1] Cranage had the rare ability to get his own way and yet make and keep friends; he was liked by supporters of the W.E.A. and university extension.[2] Amongst these was Mansbridge whom he had known from the beginning of the W.E.A.: in 1905 the Syndicate became a subscriber to the Association and in 1906 began to award several scholarships to enable members of W.E.A. classes to attend Cambridge summer meetings.

As already noted, following representation from Mansbridge in 1908, the Syndicate's Local Lectures Committee arranged its first tutorial classes in the following year. According to Welch, Cranage allowed Mansbridge a free hand in organising these first three tutorial classes. When in 1913, Pateman became a member of the Tutorial Classes Committee on Mansbridge's nomination, he formed an impression, corroborated by Welch that "Cranage would not dream of doing anything to stop Mansbridge doing what he wished to do"[3] and Cranage's attitude to Tutorial classes in committee was always honest, direct, well-tempered and co-operative without any suggestion of competition, opposition or envy in relation to the growth of tutorial classes and the W.E.A.'s sovereignty in organising the student demand.

1. Workers' Educational Association, 1903-24, Eastern District Souvenir p.8
2. E. Welch op.cit. pp.107-08
3. Conversation with Pateman, November, 1965

Finally, one must consider the importance of Mansbridge's fortuitous success at Oxford in that his own ambitions for the W.E.A. coincided with the emergence of the academic radical group in Oxford who saw the potential importance of what Mansbridge was attempting to achieve. As early as 1905, Tawney had enrolled as a member at the suggestion of Canon Barnett, Warden of Toynbee Hall, who was also a member of the W.E.A.'s Advisory Council and enthusiastic supporter of Mansbridge. Mansbridge, recognising the potential importance of Tawney's support contrived his election to the W.E.A.'s Central Executive Committee in October, 1905, and Tawney was invited to provide extension lectures at the W.E.A.'s Ilford Branch early in 1906. Temple also joined the W.E.A. in 1905 following attendance at the W.E.A. summer conference at Oxford on continuation schools. With the important assistance of Barnett the support of some young Oxford academics was thus secured and with providential coincidence the demand came from Rochdale in 1907 which provided the opportunity for Tawney's celebrated tutorial class.

With the tide flowing strongly in Mansbridge's favour at Oxford it was clear that developments at Cambridge University would have to await the full realisation of the ferment of activity and thought at Oxford. Although Oxford might have been the earlier of the two ancient universities, for Mansbridge there was no suggestion that it should not be both to espouse his cause. The omission of Cambridge would have been a serious one and a major weakness in his grand design of the alliance between labour and learning. Even without the synchronisation of active support at both universities, Mansbridge deliberately set out to establish the W.E.A. presence in Cambridge, accepted by Cranage and recognised by the establishment of a Tutorial Classes Committee in May, 1913.

The Establishment of the Cambridge Joint Committee

As mentioned earlier, tutorial classes had been arranged since Michaelmas Term 1909, through the Cambridge Local Examinations and Lectures Syndicate, and treated administratively as other lecture courses.

The Syndicate's Report on Tutorial Classes for 1909 to 1911 dealt with the three classes at Leicester, Portsmouth and Wellingborough all of which were begun in Michaelmas Term, 1909. Within the Eastern District area, although the District had not been then established, was the Wellingborough class on English Literature, tutored by A.J. Wyatt, Fellow of Gonville and Caius College Cambridge. The class was visited by Professor G.C. Moore Smith, University of Sheffield, as part of the Syndicate's practice of inspection and assessment and his report is reproduced in the Syndicate's report, dated 7 April, 1911. Wyatt's own report on the class, as its tutor, was made some eight months later in December, 1911.

In the first two years the average attendance was over 85% of a possible total of 26 to 30 students, about one third of whom were women. The age-range of the group was 18 to 55 years and its members were drawn from several manual occupations including "clickers" and "curriers",[1] but also included four women teachers, two female clerks and two housewives. For the men the list of occupations were a solicitor's clerk, a grocer, insurance agent, ironmonger's assistant, brush maker and pattern maker, and the manager of a local co-operative society. Collectively, their enthusiasm and effort to pursue their studies surprised Wyatt. "The average attendance for the first two winters

1. Clickers and curriers were skilled boot and shoe employees.

was 26. Although the men, almost without exception, begin their day at 6.00 to 6.30 a.m., a day which includes much physical effort, their alertness right up to 10.00 p.m. has been a constant source of surprise to me. Three men from Finedon cycle or walk four miles each way in all weathers and are hardly ever absent. Indeed, the members are regular, attentive and keen. As Thursday is early closing day, they miss the most seductive counter-attractions throughout the winter. Twenty of the original thirty members are still working with the Class. They seem to me to include the pick of the more intelligent men of the whole neighbourhood. This will the more readily be believed when it is added that, in the session 1909-10, Wellingborough was the only Tutorial Class in the country (out of sixty or seventy) that had elected to study English Literature.

The subjects dealt with have been finally chosen by the votes of the members from among those offered. The first winter was given to selected plays of Shakespere. Since then we have studied ... from Shakespere to Tennyson ... we shall end with six Chaucer evenings, in the second hour of which it is hoped to read the Prologue to the Canterbury Tales .... The second hour each Thursday is given to criticisms of the essays sent in, to questions and discussions. On an average a quarter of an hour or less is taken up by a short lesson in English composition, usually suggested by mistakes made in the essays. Contrary to expectation, the members are quite fearless in owning to their mistakes in each other's presence ... another quarter of an hour or more is usually given to mistakes, misapprehensions, and other points arising out of the subject-matter of the essays. This leaves about half an hour for questions and discussion on the lecture of the evening .... Probably not more than half the class take part in the discussion. But this half includes the men who have read and thought,

and formed opinions which they will not readily abandon .... The difficulty presented by the writing of essays to some of the men is hard to appreciate. They recognise that an essay should not be a mere reproduction of knowledge gained and most of them are not satisfied unless they put something of their own into what they write. Yet after a day's hard manual labour, often beginning at six o'clock in the morning some of them find that they cannot write for more than half an hour at a time, and that time suffices for composition of some ten lines only. Mr. Barnett, chief inspector of the Board of Education, wrote at the end of the first session: the essays 'are exceedingly interesting and show a most satisfactory average of really intelligent appreciations'."[1]

This extended quotation from the tutor's report serves to indicate the considerable potential value of the tutorial class, and might almost be taken to epitomise both the aims and achievements of the tutorial class arrangements. Wyatt felt this to be the case at Wellingborough and concludes his report with perception and sensitivity "... there are men and women in the class who in 1909 only knew of English literature as a world they have never entered; now they have taken the first step inside, and this seems to have made a real difference in their lives, so real that you cannot converse with them for long without being aware of it."[2]

Moore Smith's report on the class was, understandably, highly commendable. He observed the excellent personal relations which existed between the tutor and the students, thought highly of the essays

1. University of Cambridge Report on Tutorial Classes; Michaelmas 1909 to Christmas 1911, pp. 19 and 20
2. Ibid p.22

which he read, and believed Wyatt's tuition and correction of errors of syntax and expression not merely of general value to the class but also important in the development of literary appreciation. He concluded "... the Syndicate may feel satisfied that in carrying on the Tutorial Class at Wellingborough they are doing work which is of great educational value and which is highly appreciated by those for whom it is done."[1]

In March, 1912, Mansbridge was invited to the Syndicate to act with Cranage as joint secretary for the Tutorial Classes, and shortly afterwards, presumably as a result of pressure from Mansbridge, the Syndicate considered the possibility of establishing a Tutorial Classes Committee on the Oxford model, with representatives from the student/ W.E.A. interests. The Syndicate hesitated on the grounds that the Ordinances of the University, under which the Syndicate discharged its responsibilities, might not permit the establishment of such a committee. However, in March, 1913, the Syndicate resolved to ask the University Senate for authority to do so. The timing was significant, as Pateman was about to replace Lowth as honorary secretary of the newly formed District - a point which Mansbridge undoubtedly elaborated with the Syndicate's members. There is an impression that, here again, the strategy was much in Mansbridge's hands: if so, it would explain the timing both of the Syndicate's request and the decision to ensure that the nascent District had a secretary to develop its activities, requiring both considerable time and effort which Lowth could not have continued to give to his pro-tem responsibility.

In May, 1913, the Grace was approved without demur by the University Senate as follows:

1. Ibid p.24.

> "That the Local Examinations and Lectures Syndicate be empowered to appoint persons who are not members of the Senate on a Committee of the Syndicate for the general management, subject to the control of the Syndicate, of Tutorial Classes arranged in connexion with the Workers' Educational Association."[1]

The Syndicate appointed a Joint Committee consisting of five of their own members and five representatives nominated by the W.E.A. The Tutorial Classes Committee thus formed was composed of:

> Chairman: The President of Queens' College.
> C.F. Angus, W.T. Layton, R.St.John Parry for the University
> Vice-Chairman: D.J. Shackleton.
> H. Goodman, G.A. Isaacs, G.H. Pateman for the W.E.A.
> Joint secretaries: D.H.S. Cranage and Albert Mansbridge

The Committee met for the first time on 29 May, 1913, when the officers were elected and reviewed the work of Tutorial Classes organised by the Syndicate during the 1912-13 session before the establishment of the Joint Committee. This was an important matter as there had been Tutorial Classes for three years prior to the formation of the new body, a somewhat different position from that at Oxford, where the Joint Committee had been established by resolution of the Oxford Conference in 1907, and which according to Mansbridge had been "carefully prepared beforehand, asking the Vice-Chancellor to appoint seven members of the University to meet seven representatives of Labour nominated by the W.E.A."[2] There is a strong suggestion that the Oxford committee was unrepresentative and might have been selected, at least on the university side, on an arbitrary basis.[3]

Certainly, there was no likelihood of such a group favourable

1. Univ. of Cambridge Local Examinations and Lectures Syndicate: Tutorial Classes Committee Report for the session 1912-13. Cambridge, 1914.
2. A. Mansbridge An Adventure in Working Class Education op.cit. p.38
3. B. Jennings op.cit. p.59-60

almost without question to the W.E.A. at Cambridge. A different approach was needed and it is clear that the judicious selection by the W.E.A. provided status through experience of the work of similar bodies. Shackleton, the former M.P., was a member of the original Oxford committee and a former member of the Parliamentary Committee of the T.U.C. Goodman, in addition to being District Secretary for London, was also on the innermost council of the central W.E.A. Pateman was there as the new District Secretary. Mansbridge was in an enviably strong position as Joint Secretary for the Oxford Committee, which he had shared since 1907 with Temple , an active powerful supporter of the W.E.A. and a Fellow of New College. He was now also Joint Secretary with Cranage for the new Cambridge Committee for Tutorial Classes.

As already noted, in Michaelmas Term, 1909, a three year tutorial class on English Literature began in Wellingborough with A.J. Wyatt as its tutor, and two others were arranged at the same time at Leicester and Portsmouth with W.T. Layton and C.K. Webster, respectively, as tutors.[1] In 1912, and before the Cambridge Joint Committee was established, two further classes were arranged; at Ipswich and Norwich. The Norwich class began in Michaelmas Term, 1912, studying Economic History with F.R. Salter, Fellow of Magdalene College and the Ipswich class started a term later in Hilary, 1913, on an identical subject with W.G. Constable, Macmahon Student of St. John's College, as the tutor.[2] Both these new classes arose from existing W.E.A. Branches and it may be assumed that the initiative came from the Branches with, at least, some encouragement from Mansbridge or one of

1. Local Examinations & Lectures Syndicate Tutorial Classes Committee Report for 1912-13
2. Ibid

his close associates such as Lowth . Certainly, the conjunction of the preliminary moves to establish a Joint Committee at Cambridge and the request from two of the few existing Branches of the W.E.A. in the region was particularly propitious and served to underline the principle on which the Central Joint Advisory Committee for Tutorial Classes was founded, a unique advisory committee in higher education at that time as it was the first body on which there were representatives of every university and university college in England and Wales. The C.J.A.C. defined its work in relation to Tutorial Classes as "a body dealing with the supply of Tutorial Classes. The demand for Tutorial Classes is best met by the organisation of the Workers' Educational Association."[1]

The Ipswich class had 23 students, 18 men, 5 women, the majority of whom were employed in clerical work, building trades or engineering. Although some students left the class during the first year because they moved elsewhere, attendance averaged 81% and rose to 91% when the effective students were calculated. Absence from class was nearly always attributed to unavoidable overtime. Essay writing proved too difficult for most students and only a small number were submitted in the first year despite Constable's help in sketching sample essays on the blackboard and providing individual tuition in essay-writing prior to the class meetings.[2]

At Norwich problems had arisen: there had been difficulty in forming the class, and the relations between the W.E.A. Branch and members of the class were not as close as they might have been and the

1. A Mansbridge An Adventure in Working Class Education, p.40. The C.J.A.C. was established in 1909.
2. The report on this class is given in the Tutorial Classes Committee Report for 1912-13, and written by Constable.

class did not have the support of prominent "local Labour leaders as much as might have been hoped".[1] Some of the necessary preliminary background history to economic development

> "even when given in a most elementary form, was rather outside the limits of some members' ability .... The discussions were not always vigorous, mainly owing to the lack of knowledge ... for this reason they were apt to centre round a comparatively few students: it was noticeable also that there was not much 'political' discussion, the interest seeming to be largely of an antiquarian or literary kind; the cause of this is to be found partly in the general character of the city, and partly in the fact that there were practically no outspoken representatives of extremer views; this was in every way a pity, as it meant a loss of liveliness and also gave less opportunity for the acquisition of well-balanced judgements that might have come had there been more vigorously articulated differences of opinion .... One or two members ... produced really admirable results, long and thorough, and often showing a considerable amount of knowledge and insight. On the other hand it was only with the greatest difficulty that some members could be induced to write at all, such form of work being quite evidently novel to them; in such cases the mere production of anything written was in itself a creditable achievement."[2]

This report by Salter reveals much of the reality of some of the tutorial class work and contrasts sharply with the Hobhouse and Headlam report on tutorial classes.[3] There was, in Salter's view, a clear need to form a preparatory class to provide the necessary background to the subject and an opportunity for written work, and in Norwich at least, there was a desire to know about the past for its own sake rather than to relate it to the affairs of the present or future, an assessment quite untypical of other tutorial classes.

Elsewhere in the region, other Tutorial Classes were arranged by the Oxford Delegacy's Joint Committee. In 1910, a class on Economic

1. Ibid The view of Salter, the tutor for the first year.
2. Ibid p.11.
3. See Chapter 4 , p. 248.

and Social Problems was arranged at Luton with J.G. Newlove as tutor, and in 1912 two further Oxford tutorial classes were launched and tutored by Miss Helen Stocks at Kettering and Lincoln, both studying Economic and Constitutional History.[1] For these classes, no details about the occupations of students exist, but the general impression of both the students, the written work submitted and standards attained suggest many features similar to those found in well-established university extension courses. Hobhouse and Headlam visited the Leicester and Portsmouth classes among the fourteen they inspected and reported upon in 1910, and it is clear from the Cambridge Joint Tutorial Classes Report of 1912-13 that these were particularly good classes as each was in its fourth year, whereas the others were in their first year. The contrast serves to indicate the progress which could be made during the period of study.[2]

When considering the activities of the 1912-13 session, the new Syndicate Tutorial Classes Committee must have been reasonably satisfied with the work, undertaken by Cranage and individual tutors. The four classes were, with the possible exception of Norwich, judged to be successful and the balance sheet showed a surplus of some £57

1. Delegacy for the Extension of Teaching Beyond the Limits of the University Report for the year ending September 30, 1913 Department of External Studies, Rewley House, Oxford University Average attendance at these classes 1912-13 was: 17, 17 and 18 respectively which suggests that not all tutorial classes were as popular or as well supported as University Extension courses. For example in Michaelmas Term 1912, Local Lectures Committees for classes in other Oxford centres in the region were:
   Bedford (afternoon class) 6 lectures Av.Att. 70 Class Att. 20
   Chelmsford " " " " " " 80 " " 22
   Hoddesdon " " " " " " 80 " " 40
   Spalding (evening class) " " " " 92 " " 20
2. Tutorial Classes Committee, University of Cambridge Syndicate, Report for 1912-13.

on the year's budget. Although Board of Education grants on classes were received, the main source of income had come from subscribers and amounted to £370 with a further £65 subscribed by four Cambridge Colleges.[1] Several subscribers had undertaken to continue their financial support for at least a further two years and the broad spectrum of support appeared propitious for the future of tutorial classes under the aegis of the Cambridge Joint Committee.

However, the outbreak of war in 1914 had a serious adverse effect on the Committee's work. Subscription income declined sharply, falling to a mere £70 in 1917-18, but as there was little activity the funds of the Committee maintained a reasonably healthy balance throughout the four year war-period. With some difficulty over attendance, only two classes, at Nuneaton and Rugby, and neither of which was in the District's area, were maintained during the war. In addition to the usual Board of Education grants £30 for each, both classes received modest support from local authorities: at Rugby a grant of £10 was provided throughout the period for the class and at Nuneaton a similar annual sum was provided in 1916 and again in 1918. Within the District the Committee arranged no classes, although attempts were made to establish classes in Cambridge and Ipswich, both of which failed through lack of support from students. Oxford Delegacy classes were continued in the District's area: the Luton class continued until

1. The Colleges were: Caius, Emmanuel, King's and Trinity Hall. Other important university support came from the Masters of Trinity and Magdalene, The President of Queens' (Chairman of the Tutorial Classes Committee), Professors Sir Joseph Larmor, M.P., Pigou, Punnett, Seward and Stanton, The Bishop of Bristol, the Dean of Ely, and Members of Parliament - D. Davies, Montagu, Runciman, Aneurin Williams and J.F. Rawlinson (whose subscription of £100 was the largest single amount). Other academic members of the University subscribed among whom were: J.M. Keynes, J.J. Lister, W.H. Macaulay, Dr. Parry, H. Rackham, A.J. Wyatt, F.N. Schiller and James Stuart. The Duke of Devonshire, J.D.C. White, and Cranage also gave generously.

1916; after a brief hiatus at Kettering a preliminary tutorial class for women was arranged for 1915-16 and followed by a tutorial class in 1917-18, tutored by Miss Stocks who duplicated these arrangements at her other centre in Lincoln. In 1917-18, a new preliminary tutorial class was arranged at Luton.[1]

By 1915, it was clear that Mansbridge could no longer continue as General Secretary of the W.E.A., his illness had led to an effective withdrawal from many of his activities and although he continued nominally as Joint Secretary to the Cambridge Tutorial Classes Committee the work was almost entirely undertaken by Cranage. With Pateman's return from France and his appointment as District Secretary, the Joint Committee in autumn 1918 appointed Pateman to Mansbridge's position as Joint Secretary to the Tutorial Classes Committee following Mansbridge's election as its Vice-Chairman to succeed Sir David Shackleton who had resigned following his appointment as Secretary of the Ministry of Labour in the Lloyd George Cabinet. J.W. Seamark, Vice-Chairman of the Eastern District, took the place on the Committee previously held by Pateman. The change in representatives from the W.E.A. reflected the objectives anticipated with the beginnings of a vigorous District organisation even before the war was ended.

The First Years of the Eastern District

In a previous section of this Chapter,[2] the activities of Pateman during the period immediately following his appointment as honorary secretary to the new and largely undefined District, the disruption caused by the war, and his eventual release from liability to war service, which cleared the way for his full time appointment as

1. Oxford Delegacy Annual Reports 1914-18 Rewley House, Oxford
2. See pp. 95-101.

District Secretary in 1917 were sketched in outline. It is necessary to consider the problems and opportunities facing Pateman from the outset in 1913. The establishment of the Cambridge Joint Committee for Tutorial Classes in May, 1913, led to Pateman becoming one of the five W.E.A. representatives on the Committee, almost before he had even considered what his role was, or might become, as District Secretary. In this respect he must, at least in retrospect, have considered himself fortunate. He was given an immediate opportunity of encountering the working of University Committees and observing at first hand the attitudes of important figures in the University and W.E.A.; the ways in which the tutorial classes under the aegis of Cambridge were developing and how the relationship between the supply and demand elements were co-ordinated.

It must have been simultaneously a stimulating yet intimidating experience. He saw the diplomatic and impressive political skills of Mansbridge at work on Cranage and the Joint Committee, heard from Layton and Angus at close quarters of their experiences in tutoring classes, learned from Goodman about developments in the London District and the wider issues raised at the C.J.A.C. on which Goodman represented the Syndicate's Tutorial Classes Committee, and encountered St. John Parry who had established a reputation for his published work and thought in adult education as a wider constituency than simply that of Tutorial classes. Not surprisingly, in such distinguished company the young carpenter from Letchworth was a "watcher and listener" and discovered yet again in his early years in the W.E.A. that he "was the youngest involved wherever he went."[1] He clearly gained, as he freely acknowledged, much from the experience of the

1. Conversation with Pateman, November, 1965

Cambridge Joint Committee.

To Cranage Pateman felt he owed particular gratitude. His view of the relationship between Mansbridge and Cranage prepared the way for his future association with Cranage. He believed that Cranage openly welcomed the participation of the W.E.A. in the education of adults and indeed did everything possible to assist its growth and development. The relationship between them from 1913 until Cranage's appointment as Dean of Norwich in 1928 was unfailingly "open and cordial". Cranage was then in his early fifties and Pateman in his late twenties and obviously in need of considerable guidance, not only about adult educational provision but, more urgently, about the ways of Cambridge University. Pateman freely confessed the extent of his personal problems: "I did not know what a college was, or a Master, or even how important Cranage was" when referring to the first year of his honorary secretaryship of the District 1913-14.[1] Cranage recognised the nature of the problem and encouraged Pateman to call on him for assistance whenever in doubt or difficulty. Pateman not infrequently did so, since he had no genuine alternative source of guidance within W.E.A. circles in Cambridge at that time; usually Cranage was accessible only at weekends, most frequently on Saturdays, as he was away from Cambridge visiting university extension classes throughout Michaelmas and Hilary Terms. On one occasion Pateman recalled visiting Cranage about a matter, and sensed that although he was characteristically courteous and helpful there was a restiveness and anxiety on that particular Saturday morning, which Cranage was eventually to explain by saying that he had to catch a train for Radlett where he was to play a round of golf!

1. Conversation with Pateman, November, 1965

Pateman added that it was not uncommon for the train from Cambridge to be 'held' for a few minutes to await Cranage: he thought that Saturday might have been one such occasion.[1]

Until Mansbridge was forced to withdraw from active involvement in the work of the Joint Committee, Pateman saw his role as adjutant to Mansbridge, constructing a network of contacts in the field, building good if deferential relationships with members of the Committee, encouraging groups and branches to consider Tutorial Classes and interpreting the demand of the W.E.A. to those who supplied the tuition, approved classes and provided the finance. He was an acceptable member of the Joint Committee in the management of classes, and gradually increased his value and prestige, not least through his enthusiasm and efforts made in connection with the University Summer Schools organised by the Joint Committee, which led to an unfettered hand in the arrangements of these, the payment of a fee by the Syndicate for his services and eventually to the payment of a substantial element of his salary some years later when the District encountered major financial difficulties.[2] It is therefore not surprising that throughout his life, Pateman had a barely concealed respect and admiration for the work of the Syndicate partly explained at least by the semi-apprenticeship which he had received under Cranage in his youthful years at Cambridge and which undoubtedly contributed to his decision in 1935 when the opportunity came to accept an appointment with the Board of Extra Mural Studies.[3]

In 1913, on its formation, the District had eight Branches:

1. Ibid
2. See Chapter 3.
3. See Chapter 6,

Colchester, Ipswich, Kettering, Letchworth, Luton, Lincoln, Norwich and Wellingborough although not all were active in 1913, and some had an earlier history as university extension centres. Ipswich, Norwich and Wellingborough, had Tutorial Classes arranged by Cambridge University, and Luton and Kettering had experience of Tutorial Classes under the Oxford Delegacy. These and other Branches arranged a variety of activities from single lectures, to short courses, preparatory classes from which it was hoped tutorial classes would emerge and, of course, study circles as preliminary activities to the holding of more substantial classes or the establishment of W.E.A. Branches, such as at St. Albans where courses of lectures were arranged with the Adult School.

The outbreak of war created particular difficulties in the new District. Of the existing Branches, Colchester suspended its activities almost immediately as the town became the most important military base in eastern England and there was little opportunity for the organisation of classes. In 1915, Norwich and Letchworth became inactive but the remaining four were able to continue and even expand their activities through seizing opportunities presented by the war situation. For example, Letchworth and Ipswich made 'educational conferences' a regular feature of their work - these were evening or weekend meetings on topics usually associated with aspects of the war. Ipswich began a series of varied lectures to soldiers stationed just outside the town. A particularly ambitious venture was a tri-partite Branch meeting at Ipswich attended by members of the Norwich and Colchester Branches on 31 October, 1914, which was addressed by the National President of the W.E.A., William Temple, and which led directly to a very successful winter session in 1914-15 for the Ipswich Branch and an increase in membership, which added to the tutorial

class activity of the Branch.

All three Branches were well founded in university extension: Norwich had arranged short courses under the Cambridge Syndicate from 1898 as had Ipswich and Colchester, and with Wellingborough arranging a Tutorial Class as early as 1909 under the Syndicate, Luton in 1910 under the Oxford Delegacy, it is not difficult to assess that the strength of the early W.E.A. Branches in the Eastern District lay in their roots in university extension. Letchworth and Kettering appear to have been the two branches which by 1913 owed their existence to the W.E.A., the former much stimulated by the presence of Pateman and the latter by the formidable presence and enthusiasm of Miss Helen Stocks.

Table No. 1

	No. of Members				
Branch	1913-14	14-15	15-16	16-17	17-18
Bedford				85	216
Braintree					51
Chelmsford					34
Colchester	Suspended activities				
Halstead				24	54
Hitchin				46	58
Ipswich			57	80	118
Kettering			8	51	110
Letchworth	Suspended activities				
Lincoln			10	8	23
Luton			16	28	18
Norwich				30	35
Wellingborough			57	49	74
			148	401	816

As the table indicates, thirteen Branches existed by the end of the war in 1918 although Colchester and Letchworth only maintained the nucleus of Branch organisation without any activities. Norwich had also experienced difficulties because of divisions between the Branch and the political Left in the city and became inactive, as Salter knew as early as 1913.

However, from 1916 onwards, public interest in the W.E.A. increased, much of it stimulated by two national issues: Re-construction and the Education Bill both of which were taken up by the national Association as major issues of W.E.A. policy. In addition from 1917 onwards, Pateman was available in a fulltime salaried capacity and began to promote growth of activity in the District. He visited regularly the more accessible centres such as Bedford, Northampton, Halstead and Hitchin, and by 1918 most of these had achieved Branch status or had formed study circles. For example in the 1917-18 session eighteen new study circles had been formed, more than 70 single lectures arranged throughout the District and several short courses of lectures and discussions on problems connected with post-war reconstruction.

Much of this District activity was stimulated by the two main issues to which the national W.E.A. committed itself. Post-war reconstruction was perhaps the most important and arose from a government committee, later the Ministry of Reconstruction, in 1917, under the leadership of Sir Auckland Geddes. The other topic, and in many ways related to the larger issue was the public interest in the Education Bill, also published in 1917. In both cases the W.E.A. launched national and largely successful campaigns to press for adult education development and improvements in the statutory system of

education. W.E.A. publications were distributed, local regional and national conferences held during late 1917 and 1918 fuelled the debate, and all Branches in the Eastern District arranged at least one conference on either of these issues some unilaterally or, more commonly, reflecting the pattern of the national Association, in conjunction with other interest groups such as the National Union of Teachers. For example, at Ipswich, an audience of more than 250 debated the issues raised in the W.E.A. pamphlet "What Labour Wants From Education" in 1917 and again in 1918. In Bedford, a similar meeting organised in conjunction with the National Union of Railwaymen led to the branch of that union supporting the recommendations of the W.E.A. which was circulated to all N.U.R. branches throughout the country. In Radlett, a door-to-door household campaign was undertaken in January, 1917, to acquaint all residents with the W.E.A.'s attitude to policies of post-war reconstruction and education. Other meetings were held on these topics at Halstead, Hitchin, Norwich and Kettering.

A national conference on Educational Reconstruction was held in London on 3 May, 1917, addressed by Temple, which adopted a whole range of recommendations for expansion of educational opportunities and which were quickly printed and distributed through all W.E.A. Branches in the country. The Eastern District was represented by S.J. Hutley, an Ipswich schoolmaster and District Chairman, Miss Dorothy Jones, Pateman being absent in France, and representatives from six of the District's Branches as well as from the Cambridge University Syndicate. The momentum of these debates considerably assisted the W.E.A. at national level and also contributed much to the arousal of interest at local level, helping to publicise the radical attitude of the W.E.A. in connection with programmes for social and educational reform and, incidentally, to the expanding influence of the W.E.A. as a national

organisation. During this period these two issues dominated the modest affairs of the District and undoubtedly proved to be important in publicising its existence, leading to increased membership, a rise in the number of affiliated societies, and the establishment of local links with kindred organisations such as trade union branches, local co-operative societies and teachers' organisations.

The attitude of the District to the Fisher Bill reflected those of the national W.E.A. and were summarised at a meeting of the District Council in September, 1917. While welcoming the Bill as a measure for the establishment of a national system of education it was regretted that nursery education could not be made available to all children; further, there was no guidance on size of classes in schools, medical treatment was not to be made compulsory, the employment of children was not to be prohibited, the number of hours for continuation classes was inadequate, and no provision was to be made for children under 14 years of age who left school before the Act came into force.[1]

Pateman recently appointed as full-time Secretary involved himself in all these activities. In the first year of his appointment, he spoke at some forty meetings, largely to trades councils, adult school councils, co-operative societies, at the Cambridge Conference of History Teachers, and to senior pupils at Holt Grammar School in Norfolk. In addition, he also spoke at various Branch and study circle meetings, exhorting and persuading all to believe in an educated democracy which would be more than ever necessary after the war in the search for improved educational opportunities and recognition

1. Minute Book No. 1. Minutes of meeting on 1st September, 1917

of adult education as part of the national fabric of education in alliance with the University of Cambridge.

The growth of the District, even under the generally adverse circumstances of the war, and much affected as it was by the toll of that conflict, was encouraging in its limited way. Although Tutorial Classes and the Joint Committee's activities declined, those of the District in establishing a network of branches and other centres for post-war growth marked an encouraging expansion relative to other educational activities. The optimism in the District during the war was reflected in the adoption of its constitution at the 1916 annual general meeting, which incorporated changes made in the national constitution at its annual meeting in Birmingham in October of the previous year.

The Eastern District's Constitution, 1916

Under the first rudimentary national organisation, the relationship between the central Association and Branches was a direct participatory one. District committees, composed entirely of secretaries of constituent Branches had no constitutional standing. However, in 1907, with the rapid growth of the W.E.A., a new constitution was adopted which created a new set of formal relationships between the central Association, Districts included for the first time and Branches.

Branches were to be autonomous as before, but now Districts were given the power to monitor and approve, or decline, their constitutions. In 1907, relationships between the few existing Districts and the Central Association were only beginning to develop, and were thus not closely defined, although the arrangement was established whereby representatives of District organisations were members of the

Association's Central Council, its controlling body. By 1914, virtually the whole country had some form of district organisation and with the continuing growth of the Association, the national constitution required further revision to make more precise the nature of the relationships between the central organisation and those of the Branches and Districts. According to Price, the revision of the constitution and its adoption in October, 1915 was Mansbridge's final important contribution to the W.E.A. before his resignation as General Secretary.[1]

Under the new constitution, the central W.E.A. became essentially representative of the corporate interest, rather than those of individual members. Thus the national W.E.A. committees and councils were composed of, governed by, and financed through, the Districts and nationally affiliated bodies. The annual general meeting of the Association was replaced by the Annual Meeting of the Central Council. In effect, it meant that the organisation of the W.E.A. was based on control by the Districts and thus the effective working of the Association was dependent on the effectiveness and financial strength of the constituent Districts - a matter in which the Eastern District, at least, was to fail consistently in the years following this constitutional modification.

This degree of devolution was entirely in the spirit of the W.E.A. tradition but it postulated a sound constitutional and financial base at District level. At that time, some of the Districts were not financially self-sufficient; indeed the Eastern was administered and financed through the Central Office. The Eastern also required a

1. T.W. Price op.cit. p.57

constitution following the amendments of 1915, a draft of which was considered at the third annual meeting in July, 1916. For the first time consideration was given to the question of defining the geographical extent of the District and it was agreed that it should cover nine counties in Eastern England from the northern fringe of London to the northern boundary of Lincolnshire, a distance of about 150 miles, and from the East Coast to the western limit of Northamptonshire, a distance of some 130 miles.[1] Geographically, it was the largest District in England and apart from the later transfer of Lincolnshire to the East Midlands District when it was established, and the metropolitan fringes of South Essex and South Hertfordshire to the London District, the original boundary of the Eastern District is that of today's. Pateman must have frequently re-called his doubts expressed to Mansbridge in 1912 about the size of the District on subsequent occasions.

The attitude of the emergent District in adopting its constitution in 1916 was that it would provide for the needs of an adequate District organisational structure when its objective of a Branch in every town and many villages was achieved after the war. Hutley, the first District Chairman, in his report to the meeting declared

> "In the light of the present needs of the Eastern District it may seem a little too complicated and drawn upon too large a scale, but it has been prepared with an eye to the future when the Eastern District, the most difficult of all the Districts to organise and co-ordinate with its widely scattered and comparatively weak branches, shall have become what we all desire it to be ..."[2]

1. See Appendix No. 1 Eastern District Draft Constitution (Facsimile copy) July, 1916 and Map
2. Eastern District Annual Meeting 1 July, 1916, Chairman's Report by S.J. Hutley, Minute Book No. 1

The functions of the District were envisaged as being:

1. the linking together for mutual help and support of all branches, affiliated societies and individual members in a geographically large District, predominantly rural and lacking easy communications.
2. to provide advice, assistance to Branches in arranging their educational activities.
3. the expansion and development of the W.E.A. through the formation of new Branches to promote the aims of the W.E.A.

The District constitution was further modified in June 1919 when the 'management' of the District had become sufficiently voluminous and urgent to require a District Executive committee to handle some of the business, particularly that which could not wait for the bi-annual Council meeting. The committee so formed consisted of all the officers - Chairman, Hon. Treasurer and the District Secretary - plus an individual member and a representative from local Branches.

The District constitution also required that one of the officers should be the District Treasurer. This matter was suspended until 1918 simply because the financial affairs of the District were handled by the Central Association. The appointment of Pateman as a salaried officer, entailed an inescapable commitment to finding his salary from the funds of a self-sufficient District, even though the original decision to appoint him was taken not only on the growth of the District's activities but also by the national Association's ability to provide the salary. Within a year of Pateman's appointment, although the Association honoured the arrangement whereby responsibility for his salary would continue to be borne by central funds, it was evident that a substantial increase in income was necessary if the work of the District was to develop and be sustained locally. The

initial response of the District to fund-raising had not been encouraging. The total income from 128 affiliated societies and 867 individual members of the District in 1918 produced only some £40, with a further £10 derived from Branch contributions to the District.[1] In June, 1918, in recognition of the low income from these sources, the annual meeting of the District agreed that Branches should in future contribute 1d. in every 1/- received from classes and other sources of income to District funds. The inadequacy of these arrangements was demonstrated in January, 1919, when the District rejected a levy of £30 suggested by the national Association as its share towards the costs of the central organisation on the grounds that it would alone consume 40% of the existing income of the District.[2] It was obvious that the constitutional arrangement for the appointment of an honorary treasurer by the District should be implemented and arrangements were made for the District to assume full financial responsibility for its work, excluding Pateman's salary, at the end of the 1918-19 financial year.

The new District Treasurer was F.R. Salter, Fellow of Magdalene College, and known to Pateman because of their membership of the Syndicate's Joint Committee for Tutorial Classes. Salter had also tutored the Norwich tutorial class in 1912-13 and was a staunch supporter of the W.E.A. It was a daunting prospect which faced him on appointment in the autumn of 1918 of finding new ways of increasing the income of the District in its search for financial independence. The difficulties were starkly revealed in the final set of accounts prepared by the Central W.E.A. at the end of May, 1919. The credit balance was less than £40 and this position was achieved only after

1. Eastern District Annual Report 1917-18. Statement of Accounts.
2. Minute Book No. 1 District Council Meeting 4 January, 1918.

the Association had paid Pateman's salary of £125 entirely from its own funds, provided a £25 loan to the District as an earnest of goodwill and had accepted the District's rejection of the suggested £30 levy and reduction to the absolute minimum of a 10 guinea affiliation fee to the national Association; an unenviable distinction which the Eastern District shared with the Scottish and Welsh Districts, the two 'depressed' areas of the country.[1] The formidable task in the face of District apathy or opposition, was to provide the finance required to match its ambitious objectives for growth of activities in the post-war period.

The University and Adult Students

It is occasionally forgotten that in the Report 'Oxford and Working Class Education', 1908, the "free and open highway" which Mansbridge had envisaged as an essential element in the alliance between workers and the universities whereby able working class students might enter higher education was essentially a dual carriageway for adult students. The inner lane would carry the heavier volume of traffic through studies in the Tutorial Classes, but the other had to exist to provide a routeway for residential studies along which " a proportion of the working class students in such (i.e. tutorial) classes may pass regularly and easily to Oxford to study in the University itself and to share the benefits of collegiate life."[2]

The authors of the Report correctly foresaw the importance of the duality of opportunity and provision: if both did not exist there

1. Only the North Eastern and North Western and Yorkshire Districts paid the suggested minimum £30 levy in full in 1918-19.
2. A. Mansbridge 'The Functions of a Modern University' University Review Vol. VI, No. 33, pp.164-65. 'Oxford and Working Class Education' op.cit. p.55.

could not be any full achievement of the original aims. At that time, even with the existence of some limited opportunities at Ruskin College, the route into Oxford Colleges was foreseen as, and subsequently proved to be, a difficult one to traverse.[1] At Cambridge, without the existence of a counterpart to Ruskin, the problem was likely to be even greater.

However, following its establishment in May, 1913, the Tutorial Classes Committee of the Cambridge Syndicate approved the principle of selected tutorial class students being admitted to the University for at least one year's residence.[2] It is almost certain that the decision taken at that meeting was unavoidable simply because W.T. Layton, a member of the Committee and tutor of the Leicester Tutorial Class, then in its fourth year, reported, and recommended, that Robert Law, a member of his Economics class, had the unanimous support of the class and the W.E.A. Branch as a suitable person to pursue further studies at the University.[3] The Committee agreed to Law's admission for the 1913-14 academic year and a few days later Trinity College nominated him to a sub-sizarship, worth about £35 a year to assist with his expenses. The Committee also applied to Leicester Town Council for an allowance for Law and its Education Committee awarded him the sum of £50 for the year. The Committee also agreed that any further expenses in relation to Law's period in residence would be met from an ad hoc Committee fund created specifically for the purpose. Law spent two years in residence at Trinity reading Economics, but did not take his degree. Welch records that there were initial difficulties

1. Ibid. See VI. and Summary of Recommendations V and VI.
2. Cambridge University Syndicate Tutorial Classes Report for 1912-13, p.4.
3. E. Welch op.cit. p.114. According to Welch the tutor, Layton, chose two students but this seems unlikely since the annual report suggests that the Committee accepted the nomination of the Leicester Tutorial Class.

over employment when he went down, but he was eventually employed as a part-time tutor by the W.E.A.[1]

Although the 1912-13 Report of the Tutorial Classes Committee has no reference to consideration of any other Tutorial Class student for residential study at the University, Welch refers to a student in the Portsmouth Class, James Mathews, as also being selected for admission but who withdrew when the local W.E.A. branch objected both to the selection procedure as well as the principle. Welch also mentions that no candidates from Wellingborough's Tutorial Class were considered, possibly because the subject of study was English Literature and not Economics as at Leicester and Portsmouth.[2] A more likely explanation is that the Wellingborough Class had completed its three year course in April, 1912, and the Committee considered the recommendations concerning Law in September, 1913, some 18 months later. The war, and some of the difficulties which Law had encountered following his period in residence, led to a temporary suspension of admissions of adult students. Cranage was clearly dissatisfied with the position over admissions and a few years later wrote: "It is a great problem of the future, but many Cambridge men will not be satisfied till it has been solved on lines which are satisfactory from both the democratic and educational standpoints."[3]

Following the Report of the Royal Commission on the two Universities in 1922, the Syndicate devised an expanded scheme for full time studies for adult students under which Pateman was to benefit.[4]

1. Law's admission to Trinity was probably instigated by R.St.John Parry a Fellow of Trinity College and a member of the Tutorial Classes Committee. E. Welch op.cit. p.114.
2. E. Welch op.cit. p.114 footnote
3. The W.E.A. Education Year Book, 1918, p.292
4. See Chapter 3, p.350.

Summer Meetings and Schools for Adult Students

Long vacation summer meetings for university extension class students originated at Cambridge in 1885 with James Stuart and were largely arranged and managed by R.D. Roberts. The early developments are traced by Roberts,[1] later growth by W.H. Draper,[2] and specifically at Cambridge by Cranage.[3] Roberts arranged with his counterpart at Oxford, Sadler, to alternate the annual summer meetings and vacation courses at each university. Every leading personality in the early W.E.A. attended one or more of the summer meetings during the final decade of the nineteenth century or the first of the twentieth. They were held in the summers of the even-numbered years at Cambridge, and proved in both Universities to be remarkable for the intellectual refreshment and social fellowship both for students and the tutors who provided the courses. The brief periods in residence during golden summer days at both Oxford and Cambridge evoked eloquent testimonies from working class students, which were published in the autumn editions of 'The Highway' for many years, and almost entirely contributed by a grateful and uncritical clientele. Some of the courses offered were superficial and attracted support from those more intent on pleasure than on serious study, and it was an inevitable development in the early years of this century that some elements of the summer meeting programmes should become the exclusive preserve of Tutorial Class students in order to allow for an extension of serious study and discussion during the fallow period between the end of one year's work in April and the onset of a succeeding year's study in September. These were to be designated as Summer Schools and initially were attended only by members of Tutorial Classes.

1. R.D. Roberts op.cit. 1891 passim
2. W.H. Draper University Extension 1873-1923 C.U.P. passim
3. D.H.S. Cranage Not Only A Dean The Faith Press, 1952 passim

The first summer school for tutorial class students at Cambridge was held in the summer of 1913 and devoted to two weeks of study on Economic Theory. Fifteen students from Tutorial Classes attended, of whom ten were in residence for the fortnight. Of the fifteen, nine were from classes arranged by Cambridge, three were from London centres, two from Durham and one from Leeds.[1] From the list of occupations it is clear that the majority were men.[2] The regime was typical of the summer school pattern: morning lectures, followed by discussion were held at Caius College, the rest of the morning being devoted to individual tuition provided by McGregor and Layton whose tutorial work was supplemented by Davies (Pembroke), Guillebaud (St. John's) and Henderson (Emmanuel). Afternoons were available for recreational and cultural activities with visits to museums, Chivers jam factory at Histon and, of course, punting. Receptions for the students were arranged at Colleges interested in the development of studies for adult working class students, such as Queens', Christ's, and Magdalene with common room facilities at Trinity College. None was resident in College and all were boarded at a house in Market Hill. Because everyone involved in the organisation and tuition of students at the summer school gave their services without charge, the cost for the two weeks venture was less than £35, most of this being expended on small scholarships to enable students to attend.

1. Of the nine students from the Cambridge Syndicate classes, three belonged to the Norwich class, but none was from Ipswich.
2. Details of the occupations of students, taken from the Joint Committee Annual Report for 1912-13, were given as follows: bookbinder, brass instrument maker, clerk, grocer, hewer (i.e. coal miner),insurance manager, joiner, machine fitter, postal employee, printer, putter (i.e. coal miner), shipwright, shop manager, wire drawer. None of these could be considered as unskilled manual workers: both coal miners for example were in much prized positions within their own industry undertaking responsible, skilled work.

Although summer schools virtually disappeared during the war years, they were re-introduced at Cambridge in 1920 and quickly expanded both in the range of courses and the number of students attending, as the number of Tutorial Classes increased, eventually to become one of most distinctive and valued features of the co-operative activities undertaken by the Syndicate, and its successor body the Board of Extra Mural Studies and the District.

By the end of the war in 1918, the Eastern District was reasonably well founded: its constitutional arrangements were clear, the District Secretary was in post, now married and living at 276, Cherryhinton Road, Cambridge, which served as the District Office, and one of Mansbridge's important objectives to establish a W.E.A. presence in association with the 'other' University in a partnership of co-operation and amity, if not yet equality, was within foreseeable realisation. Further, the first steps had been taken to establish the District as a self-sufficient organisation and a valuable university member had been appointed as its honorary treasurer. The District Secretary was bustling around the District and, in addition to the anticipated growth in tutorial classes under the University's Joint Committee, the number of W.E.A. Branches was beginning to grow at a discernible rate. In 1918 the total was thirteen, with the formation of new Branches at Braintree and Chelmsford, revivals at Colchester, Letchworth, and Norwich and the promise of continued growth of small Branches at Lincoln and Luton.

Chapter 3

Post-war Expansion 1919-24

General Considerations

The period following the end of the war brought changes which were unforseeable even five years earlier. The diffusion of national wealth in the shape of purchasing power as a result of 'war wages' made life somewhat easier for working people in the period immediately following the war, heightened by the inevitable relief that hostilities had finally ended, yet linked with an uneasy realisation that values, ethical standards and social stability had changed in a new age of uncertainty unsuspected during the pre-war Edwardian era. These changes, similar to those accepted as inevitable in the period following the second world war, were in 1918 unprecedented and the novelty of the situation and the unorganised character of radical movements, particularly those associated with the Labour Party, meant in 1919 the return of a right wing coalition government under Lloyd George. But, significantly, the Labour Party became the official opposition for the first time largely as a result of electoral reform and the enfranchisement of women over the age of thirty. It is possible that with the growth in political power and the experience of direct action by the trade unions and the suffragettes, the earlier interest in education as a routeway to power declined relatively to the importance of education as the main avenue of social mobility. Lowndes has charted the very rapid growth of schools - an increase in excess of 100% between 1914 and 1921 which reflected "The changes that had been going on in the previous twenty years - the multiplication and the increasing accessibility of schools, the growth of appreciation among

parents, the example of others - had been working silently and unsuspected beneath the surface to create a new desire for education."[1] These factors, together with the stimulation of the Balfour Education Act, 1902, had been important contributory factors in the awakening of large sections in the population to the importance of educational opportunity.

In the previous chapter reference was made to the national activities of the W.E.A., much of these in concert with teachers' organisations to increase interest in, awareness of the possibilities of, necessity of improved access to, and increased opportunities for, primary and secondary education. It is almost certain that not only did the W.E.A. play an important general role in the leavening of public opinion and thus in the formulation of attitudes towards growth in educational opportunity, but it also focussed attention on itself as an educational movement and its specific aims in the growth of educational opportunities and provision for adults who had not, generally, continued in fulltime education beyond the age of fourteen and in many cases had left school even earlier.

As a result of post-war optimism, increased financial resources, and the activities of its Branches and Districts, the national Association entered a period of rapid growth spurred on by the public interest in 'Reconstruction' and the realisation that peacetime conditions were now generating problems which were as great in magnitude as those different problems which were faced during the previous five years. Price and Stocks have provided a clear outline of the nineteen-twenties as a period of growth with difficulty for the

1. G.A.N. Lowndes The Silent Social Revolution O.U.P. 1937, p.114.

national W.E.A. - rapid expansion in provision without adequate funds to support it.

The result was that the W.E.A. faced financial crises that were products of its own success, and to these were added those of a wider and more serious kind which bedevilled the country's economic life following the transitional year of adjustment from war to peace. The return of ex-servicemen led to massive redundancies amongst women; war-time contracts expired leading to large-scale unemployment amongst men recently returned to civilian occupations and, inevitably, to industrial unrest and direct action by trade unions in response to stringent economic measures introduced by the government. As these problems, fuelled by economic inflation, defied solution a political trend began to emerge which was to dominate the period covered by this chapter, and led eventually to the first Labour Government under Ramsay McDonald, which although of brief duration, achieved a notable advance in the field of adult education through the introduction of the 1924 Adult Education Regulations. It appears from this study, that these Regulations not only partially rescued the Eastern District from collapse but set adult education provided through voluntary bodies on a permanent basis, establishing them as providers within the national framework of educational provision a status which, although challenged on several subsequent occasions, has never been seriously threatened.[1]

The Adult Education Regulations of 1924 were a product not only of the early success of the W.E.A., and a somewhat late recognition of the half-century of distinguished and unique university extension endeavour, but also of the major report on adult education published

1. B. Jennings The Changing Role of the W.E.A. Lecture at Oxford University Department for External Studies, September, 1977.

in 1919 as part of a series of studies commissioned for the Ministry of Reconstruction, established in 1917 to consider post-war development. Further, and specifically in relation to the roles of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge the Royal Commissions on these universities, published in 1922, placed extra mural university teaching firmly as part of the normal work of universities for which finance should be allocated.

The 1924 Regulations thus represented a significant watershed in that official recognition was given to the non-statutory providers of adult education as Responsible Bodies with recognition of their organising activities and entitled to grant-aid from the Board of Education. For the W.E.A. the innovation was important in a variety of ways, not least in the formal recognition of its work and national status. The W.E.A. also secured approval of its objectives and provision, and above all was the significance of accessibility to funds directly related to the classes and courses, which if approved by the Board, were, at least in theory but not in subsequent practice, without financial limit. It immediately offered a route to complete independence to the funding by universities and of reliance on charitable effort, through subsidy, subscription and income from affiliated societies. Nevertheless, financial difficulties continued for a variety of reasons at national and District levels. In the case of the Eastern District they form an important element in this study and continued to present problems in varying degrees of severity throughout the period up to 1940.

Lowndes study reveals the silent and unsuspected growth of the importance of accessibility to improved educational opportunity which was partially masked by the social changes which followed the war. The

emancipation of women, coupled with a nostalgia for the Edwardian period, and developments in science and technology, of which aviation, motor cars, cinema and the radio were perhaps the most spectacular, served to sharpen the consciousness of change. The problems of unemployment and the much publicised activities of the upper echelons of society tended to broaden and deepen social divisions throughout the nineteen-twenties. The trenchant literature of satire and caricature: Shaw, Waugh, Wodehouse and Huxley threw into sharp relief the passing, and irrelevance, of pre-war society. It is of considerable interest, although beyond this study, that the period of proletarian or left-wing intellectual literature emerged later possibly because as Hoggart contends, the traditional horizons and values of the working classes were not yet under attack. The influence of the chapel, club and union persisted in most industrial regions well into the nineteen-thirties, before the increased purchasing power and mass production of luxury goods, and newer ideas of a meritocratic society affected a wider section of the population, much of it through the increased educational opportunities described by Lowndes, particularly in secondary education.[1]

In the period immediately following the war, the influence of social and economic factors through the recession in industry and the awareness of change in the fabric of the life in the country through greater access to power via political office at local and national levels is reflected in the staple subjects of W.E.A. tutorial classes. Economics, social sciences, and political science formed the largest group of subjects for study and were invariably well-supported, but the growth in the organisations of unions and the T.U.C. and the increased

1. G.A.N. Lowndes op.cit. passim. R. Hoggart op.cit. Part I passim.

powers of Local Authorities indicated that perhaps the most sure and swift solutions to the resolution of problems and the ability to gain power was through the combined strength of organised labour and the Labour Party. Educational reform was considered by many to be too slow, too uncertain, and too difficult a route to be either attractive or a genuine alternative. Further, as far as the W.E.A. was concerned it was charged with being contaminated by bourgeois elements and a patronised pawn in the hands of the universities. This view was vociferously held by the Central Labour College and the Plebs League, and even by some of the influential younger members of the W.E.A. such as G.D.H. Cole. For these reasons alone, some of the most able and valued members of classes in the W.E.A. during the early nineteen-twenties were lost to the Movement although their predecessors had been a most significant element during the first decade or so of its existence.[1]

The alliance between the W.E.A. and the Iron and Steel Trades Federation which led to the Workers' Educational Trade Union Committee in 1920 did not prove to be an effective way of retaining such people in classes or attracting others from the ranks of trade union membership. In the Eastern District, the W.E.T.U.C. was never to emerge as a distinctive influence or voice in its policy or activities. Here, it was especially understandable as it was not thought initially to have any direct relevance in a predominantly rural region.[2] Even when membership of the W.E.T.U.C. expanded, the District Committee of the W.E.T.U.C. appears to have played a relatively inert role in co-operative activities between unions and the W.E.A., confining itself

1. Educational Advisory Committee Report "Aims and Standards in W.E.A. Classes", Workers Educational Association, 1936.
2. Minute Book No. 1 District Executive Committee 6 June, 1922

mainly to the awarding of scholarships for summer schools and the administration of the collection of class fees from unions in the scheme and the few members who enrolled for classes in the District.[1]

In addition to the formal arrangements it is possible that Pateman, as a disciple of Mansbridge, did not wholly support the alliance with trades unions in its formal sense. An avowed trade union man, he might have believed that the W.E.A. existed to serve the needs of trade unionists as individual members of classes, but that the strength of the W.E.A. lay with its association - close and intellectual - with the universities. He was impressed by and strongly supported the links with the University. At Cambridge it conferred many important advantages not only for the District's work but also at a personal level.

The overt links with and close association with the trade union movement were considered to be of central importance to the W.E.A. by many of its leading members even before the war. Some, such as Cole foresaw the difficulties inherent in too close a linkage with the universities for a movement essentially working class in its objectives and membership. There was a strong element of patronage in the association even in the earliest years - a point made both in the Oxford Report of 1908, by Fisher in his speech in the introduction of the Education Bill in 1917, and by others in the columns of 'The Highway'. Stocks and Price both suggest that Mansbridge had "tipped the balance of the Association on the side of the universities ... and Mansbridge himself was of this opinion."[2] In Mactavish, in 1916,

1. W.E.T.U.C. Minute Book No. 1. Pateman, as District Secretary, in fulfilment of the original agreement at the establishment of the organisational arrangement acted as Hon. Sec. to the committee and the activities were organised through the District Office.
2. Mary Stocks op.cit., p.70

it was thought the Association had found a man who could redress the balance and move the Association into closer relationships with the trade unions. The W.E.T.U.C. was perhaps his most notable achievement in that direction.

For the Eastern District, there were fewer hopes that such an effective re-balancing might be achieved. Apart from the well organised and effective trade union organisations in the industrial zone in the west, largely Northamptonshire and Bedfordshire, the area was predominantly an agricultural one and at that time the rural workers were not organised into any effective trade union. Further, the presence and physical proximity of the University in Cambridge dominated the intellectual life of the region. Last but not least, Pateman did not like Mactavish, a dislike which was to show itself in dramatic form in 1919; it was an antipathy which persisted until the latter's resignation in 1928.

The Eastern District: The Post-War Years

In 1918, following his marriage, Pateman moved to Cambridge and set about the task of establishing the work of the District on a secure basis in co-operation with the University through the Joint Tutorial Classes Committee, of which he had recently become joint secretary with Cranage.[1] He was aware that the W.E.A. goal for all Districts was that of financial and organisational self-sufficiency within three years of formation. In the Eastern District's case this was never defined in calendar terms, but there was probably a tacit acceptance, at least, that the period would broadly begin from the date of Pateman's full time appointment i.e. September, 1917. To achieve this position

1. In 1918 he replaced Mansbridge as Joint Secretary when the latter became Vice-Chairman of the Tutorial Classes Committee.

in any District, it was necessary to create an active network of Branches, as large a group as possible of affiliated societies, and individuals who would subscribe annually to the District funds to support its educational endeavours.

With the framework of the 1916 constitution as his guide which had established the place of the District organisation as the pivotal position in the W.E.A.'s structure, Pateman undertook a demanding programme of visits to existing and potential Branches, collecting promises of subscriptions from a variety of people, cajoling trades councils and local branches of trade unions to support the work of the new District and by giving lectures or talks about the aims, objectives and progress of the W.E.A. on two or three occasions every week.[1] Rough notes of his talks have survived, well thumbed and showing signs of much use, which showhis approach was that of the evangelist rather than the logician. A passionate belief in the justice which education would bring to those deprived of educational opportunity is evident from them: the model for success which he offered relied heavily on the past achievements, in a non-educational sense, of the co-operative movement and trade unions in the nineteenth century. The mobilisation of the opinion of working people led to "strength in unity"; the accumulation of social and political knowledge was an essential preliminary which needed harnessing to skilful leadership to carry workers to the promise of an educated democracy. From these notes there appears to be no evidence that, as his mentor Mansbridge believed, education could be conceived as a goal in itself.

1. Conversation with Pateman, November, 1965.

As Hutley had outlined in 1916,[1] Pateman had three objectives in developing an adequate District organisation. To these he gave particular attention and emphasis during the first few years of his appointment:-

1. To focus attention within, and co-ordinate the views of the District membership of major educational issues about which the national Association was concerned and in which it was active.

2. To link together for mutual help and support the Branches, affiliated societies and individual members in the District: a difficult task in view of the geographical size of the region and the dispersed nature of settlement with few well developed public travel facilities, especially in an east-west direction which would have been most helpful in the development of the District's organisation.

3. To establish new Branches, maintain and encourage development in existing centres and through them as springboards, expand the opportunities for, and provision of, adult education in the District and reduce, by so doing, educational inequalities among working people.

As Pateman contemplated the task before him, the demographic pattern and the limited public service facilities at a time when the motor car was a novelty of the privileged classes, it became obvious that while not eschewing any opportunity for growth in rural areas, his priorities lay in developing the work of the W.E.A. in the industrial zone of Northamptonshire, large market and administrative centres such as Bedford, Lincoln and Norwich, the coastal settlement in Norfolk and Suffolk, and the extra-metropolitan fringe in Essex and Hertfordshire. It was also those areas in which the District's activities were already in evidence having emerged in the period before the creation of the

1. See Chapter 2, p.133.

District and during the war. The rural communities in Fenland and East Anglia appeared in the immediate future beyond the reach of the slender resources available and the practical possibilities of securing visiting tutors for classes.

It will be re-called from the previous chapter that when the District was first established in 1913 as a sub-division of the South Eastern District, its boundaries were not really defined except that it should extend from the outskirts of the capital to Lincoln. By 1917, it contained 12 Branches and a membership of 401: the largest branch then being Bedford with 85 and the smallest, Lincoln, with a membership of 8. By the end of Pateman's first full year in office, May 1918, the number of Branches was 13, membership had doubled to 816 and Bedford continued to be the largest Branch with 216 members.[1] The last year of the war was a remarkable period of unprecedented growth. Even making an allowance for the natural initial enthusiasm of new Branches, such as Bedford, it is clear that Pateman's full time appointment and his tireless efforts in this first year to create a sense of District identity and establish a rudimentary organisation had stimulated a fresh sense of the importance of the W.E.A. Of course, as shown in the previous chapter, he was enormously assisted indirectly by the national campaigns of the Association in connection with the Fisher Education Bill.

The Fisher Bill had an immediate value for Pateman in its arousal of public opinion and

> "the W.E.A. programme was widely accepted as the educational charter of the working classes. The W.E.A. campaign was undoubtedly the greatest single factor in creating public

1. Bedford Branch Minute Book No. 1. Branch Council Meeting 7 September, 1917

> support for Mr. Fisher's Bill; and although the Bill fell far short of the full W.E.A. programme and was further weakened during its passage through the House, the resultant Act was the greatest Education Act ever passed in this country."[1]

In the District, many enquiries were received about the W.E.A. and new members were gained through the public meetings held in 1917 and 1918, often in conjunction with the N.U.T., and many teachers became W.E.A. members.[2] Prompted by this support Pateman wrote to the Heads of several schools in the District to draw attention to the activities of the W.E.A. in connection with the Bill and its campaign for educational reform. Curiously, he included letters to the Heads of Gresham's, Chigwell, The Leys and Perse Schools and met with an encouraging response as far as the broader aims of the W.E.A. were concerned.[3] Others were approached, notably local councillors in Authorities within the region, often gaining positive responses in that new members were enrolled during 1918.[4]

1. T.W. Price op.cit., p.62
2. For example, the Isle of Ely, Lowestoft, Hertford and District branches of the N.U.T. all supported the District's campaign; the Hon. Sec. of the Lowestoft branch wrote in February (9th) 1918 "I believe it would be for the good of education generally if the Association could extend its activities in East Anglia".
3. Dr. Rouse, Head of Perse School was prepared to become a subscriber to the District but wished to know if the editor of the 'Cambridge Magazine' was a W.E.A. member. "If so, I could have nothing to do with it." Pateman was able to re-assure him on the point and Dr. Rouse became a subscriber to the District. Later, in 1922 Pateman became a Governor of the School.
4. By way of illustration, in April 1918, Pateman wrote to Cllr. E. Lee of St. Alban's whom he had met when engaged on one of his excursions to centres talking about the W.E.A. which illustrates the methods employed by Pateman: "You were interested in the lectures that I gave at St. Alban's on various educational questions and I am venturing to bring the needs of this Association before you. We have been organising meetings in different parts of this District to create an atmosphere which would make the passing of the Fisher Bill possible and I believe we have achieved good results, but all this has meant a great strain on our funds and I am now feeling anxious about our work in the future may not suffer thereby.

   I think an invitation to join the Association was sent to you in Oct. last. I would renew that now; the future for education was never so hopeful and we are appealing to our friends to help us in the work we are undertaking feeling confident that we shall meet with a response which will enable us to continue our work."

The Press was, of course, an obvious agent in dissemination and all newspaper offices in the District were sent reports on the May 1917 conference at Westminster Hall as well as reports of meetings held on the Fisher Bill within the District. The presence of local people of prominence nearly always ensured adequate press coverage of the meetings. In this, Pateman's techniques mirrored those recommended by the national Association. An enquiry or given name would be followed up by a personal letter or visit by Pateman. With his help, a public meeting would be arranged by local people with the mayor or some other prominent local person as Chairman. Pateman would speak about the aims, purpose, progress and national importance of the Association's work in the broad field of education leading towards an educated democracy, mentioning some of its most distinguished members and supporters in government, the anglican church and the universities. A discussion would lead to a proposal, usually agreed by whom beforehand on the Mansbridge pattern, that a local Branch be formed in order to provide classes under the aegis of a provisional committee and Pateman would then offer the assistance of the District organisation in the arrangements for, and engagement of, tutors of academic distinction. The seriousness of the course of studies would be stressed, the nature of the modest costs explained and, in the case of university tutorial classes, where Board of Education grants were available up to a maximum of £45 per session, the assurance that about 75% of the costs would be met through this grant-aid. It was a formula of considerable appeal and provided that the initial momentum was maintained, the formation of the Branch with its autonomous organisation and freedom to choose both topic and tutor appeared an attractive proposition.[1]

1. Conversation with Pateman, November, 1965.

In practice, it was not always quite so easy. Many interested in classes in liberal adult education were prepared to enrol but not prepared to undertake the necessary organisational work in the preliminary stages. Further, the choice of subjects presented other difficulties over reaching common agreement on the topic and then the ability to find a tutor ready, willing and available to prepare and submit a syllabus for approval by the Branch and District, and in the case of tutorial classes, the University's Joint Committee as well. There can be little doubt that in practice, Branches did not have unlimited choice of either subject or tutor. A range of subjects was offered, the availability of which depended on the supply and competence of tutors. Not infrequently, the failure of a tutor led directly to the failure of the class - if it were the only one arranged by the Branch, commonly the case in these early years, the existence of the Branch itself was in jeopardy and some did 'fail' for this reason as well as the inability of members to find even the modest fees required in connection with classes during the period of unemployment peaking at some two millions by the mid-nineteen-twenties.

However, in the first few years after the war, Pateman was able to capitalise on the novelty of an enthusiasm for the W.E.A. in a new District, the forging of substantive links with the University of Cambridge through an expansion in the number of tutorial classes provided, many of them directly linked with his own proseltysing activities, and which thus increased his stature and value within the Joint Committee. Events at national level also generated an interest in, and response to, a public ready and interested in new developments in the post-war period. The Education Bill, as already noted, was probably the issue which attracted the greatest attention but there were two others which met with a ready reception and considerable

support from quarters close to the government, the university and the national Association. These were the Final Report of the Adult Education Committee for the Ministry of Reconstruction published in 1919 and the awakening interest of the needs of rural areas in England.

Both matters were given increased importance as a result of the Education Act, 1918. When considered in relation to the W.E.A. proposals mentioned in the previous chapter, there was considerable disappointment in the Education Act of 1918 as most of the Association's programme was excluded. However, the Act imposed on each Local Education Authority a duty to prepare educational development schemes during the following decade for improvements in the education service. The economic difficulties during that period prevented much effective progress, but provided an open invitation, even a challenge to W.E.A. Branches to campaign for a variety of improvements, to provide an agency or voice for community concern in a collective way and maintain vigilance over L.E.A. schemes.

In early 1919, the national Association distributed an action pamphlet to its Branches containing a number of stratagems similar to those originally voiced by the Association in 1916.[1] Pateman used the pamphlet both to generate interest in the District and as an indicator that the W.E.A. was not exclusively an organisation concerned only with the liberal education of adults but also a major organ in a campaign necessary to the creation of an educated democracy. Some Branches in the District were very successful in gaining local recognition: the Ipswich Branch was invited to nominate members to sit on three borough committees drafting plans for development under the 1918 Act

1. "How to Get the Best out of the Education Act" W.E.A. pamphlet, National Labour Press Ltd., London, 1919

and the Lincoln Branch formed its own committee to consider the implications of the Act, which met with an L.E.A. committee to discuss the provision of adult education in the city.

As L.E.A.s were charged with this responsibility under the 1918 Act, the publication of the 1919 Final Report on Adult Education became an important document for consideration of adult education provision within the statutory powers of Local Authorities. Further, since in the Eastern District most Authorities were in rural areas, it was natural that much of the focus of attention should concern itself with adult education beyond the urban areas and where the W.E.A., although involved and anxious to extend its influence, had met with considerable difficulty in establishing itself either as provider of educational opportunities or as a Movement for social change.

Education in Rural Areas

The special problems of the rural areas were considered in the Final Report 1919. The Committee believed a re-creation of rural communities was necessary through new social and cultural traditions. In this major task the role of adult education was of considerable significance and the Committee believed new regulations and increased grant aid would be essential to stimulate development. But the main effort should be through a corps of resident tutor-organisers in rural areas who would organise and provide educational activities in rural areas.

An important characteristic of the growth of adult education in

Britain throughout the nineteenth century was its concentration in industrial centres. The large populations in recently industrialised areas, the introduction of many new technical methods in industrial processes together with the increasing accessibility through the rapidly expanding road and railway networks were obvious facilitating factors in its growth and appeal. However, these conditions were absent in rural areas, which continued to exist unchanged in the social and economic conditions of the previous century. Further, the onset of industrialisation led to rural de-population as many young people sought employment in the dynamic, rootless world of the new urban areas.

Before 1914, agriculture was in a depressed, stagnant economic condition, controlled by a traditional squirearchy or absentee landlords; population levels continued to decline, rail communications remained relatively undeveloped, and long hours of work combined with the low rates of pay and the 'tied cottage' system with its concemitant insecurity of tenure, combined to produce a sense of deep introspection and acceptance by the dispersed communities of farm workers. These conditions, together with the rudimentary organisation and limited finance available, precluded any serious consideration of taking adult education to rural areas. Further, the universities and the W.E.A. had neither the staff nor financial resources, required for the demand, stimulation, satisfaction of the existing demand in urban areas even where local organisations and societies existed to reduce the problems of organisation.

The war brought a clear recognition of the importance of agriculture as the cornerstone of the wealth, well-being of the nation's economy and indeed of its survival. This realisation prompted the

attention of the government and other agencies in the countryside leading to a closer study of the social and economic conditions prevailing in the countryside - notably its generally debilitated state. In this attention, the problems of education in rural areas was a matter to which the national Association gave particular attention in 1917, when a sub-committee was established to examine the possibilities of developing its educational activities in areas of relative under-population.[1]

Pateman gained his first national recognition by becoming secretary to that sub-committee. It was a natural choice in that he had recently taken on the District containing the 'granary' of England and which covered the largest rural area in the country. In July, 1918, the sub-committee produced its report "Rural Reconstruction" in which many recommendations were made for the development of the work of the W.E.A. in rural areas.[2] Perhaps the most important of these was the emphasis on the appointment of resident tutors to live and teach among groups of rural communities. In this sense the report anticipated a major recommendation of the government's report in 1919 but apart from the emphasis given to such appointments the idea was not entirely new.

Similar arrangements had been introduced in Sussex and Warwickshire in earlier years, and immediately after the end of the war the latter L.E.A. appointed staff tutors for rural education. With the publication of its own report, the W.E.A. formally endorsed the policy of resident

1. See Lowndes op.cit. pp.24-25 and pp.167-170 for the position in 1935.
2. W.E.A. pamphlet published as an interim report in 1918. Little was achieved because of the lack of finance by the W.E.A. to introduce schemes. Pateman reported to this effect to the Eastern District's Council meeting in January, 1920.

tutors for rural areas. There were limitations to such a policy. Its main difficulty lay in the restrictions which were imposed over choice of the subjects and personality of the resident tutor. Both of these were always regarded as critical factors in the success of the Association's work in its early years and the inevitable limitation which this arrangement would impose on the freedom of Branches or classes to choose both subject for study and the tutor was a matter for regret to the W.E.A.[1] Nevertheless, the sub-committee was sufficiently convinced that as villages were amenable and desirous of some organised form of adult education the limitation would be accepted as being of lower priority than the urgent objective of providing opportunities for expansion of the Movement in rural areas, which were less fortunate than urban areas and yet perhaps more in need of the creation of an educated working class consciousness.

The anticipated difficulties over the central tenet of freedom for Branches persisted during the nineteen-twenties and was not removed until improved public transport, especially bus services, and an extension in car ownership emerged during the nineteen-thirties. The latter especially not only enabled resident tutors to enlarge the radius of their activities, but also permitted the appointment of part-time tutors to provide the range of choice in subjects on a scale which began to match the opportunities hitherto confined to urban Branches.

Rural Education in the Eastern District

From this period onwards, Pateman developed a deep and enduring interest in the possibilities of developing the work of the District in rural areas: particularly in Norfolk and Fenland initially and, later,

1. The problem was exemplified by J.G. Newlove, the Eastern District's resident tutor in Norfolk.

in Bedfordshire and Essex.

His first essay, in recognition that a fully developed scheme for rural areas was unlikely to be possible for some years, led him to experiment with his own practicable, makeshift and ingenious if amateur solution. He devised a set of lantern slides, wrote accompanying notes, much in the style of the later school film-strip kits, to provide a commentary which were packaged in a stout wooden box. On request from a village, the box could be despatched to the nearest railway station, collected by arrangement by someone from the village, often the local vicar or schoolteacher, who would then arrange a showing and provide the illustrated talk. To establish the utility of the idea, he borrowed a set of glass slides illustrating the changing pattern of the countryside from Saxon times to the Seventeenth Century. The response was sufficiently encouraging and the original set improved and extended as "English Rural Life in the Middle Ages". Although the commentary was almost certainly re-written by a member of the University of Cambridge and not by Pateman, he had established one way at least of encouraging villages to begin to show an interest in adult education. It proved to be a popular choice of topic, related to the local environment and was supplied on dozens of occasions in villages and small towns in the District during the nineteen-twenties. For example, in one unidentified village in the District, some seven miles from a railway station, to which the box had been despatched, the evening talk was given in a crowded schoolroom to which villagers took their own chairs and following which more lectures were requested.[1] Given the existing circumstances and the availability of this one set at that time it is unlikely that Pateman was in a position to respond

1. Eastern District Annual Report 1920-21.

to the interest.

Pateman, of course, gave many talks of this kind, but although he considered, correctly, that they were valuable in stimulating initial interest and brought an excitement to relatively isolated communities, they suffered from the kind of superficiality commonly found in the popular university extension lecture towards which the W.E.A. was antipathetic. Eventually, he was forced to accept that the village lecture did not, in the majority of instances, lead to a measurable expansion in serious, continuous study to which the W.E.A. had a commitment and they were not expanded into a sequential programme of lectures in the Eastern District. The growth of Tutorial Classes and One-Year Courses to provide the essential study-opportunity had to await the appointment of resident tutors and improved communications before rural adult education could begin to flourish.

One other attempt to promote adult education in rural areas without the services of a resident tutor was made in 1919 by the Ipswich Branch. This well-established, active and flourishing Branch arranged with Pateman's encouragement a series of meetings in outlying villages with the intention of stimulating interest in the W.E.A. through the formation of study groups which might eventually lead to the establishment of Branches and more formal continuous study. But after a year or so, the problems of organisation, leaders and volunteer tutors from among the membership of the Ipswich Branch led to a loss of enthusiasm, and the limited response from the villagers appear to have been too difficult to overcome and the experiment was abandoned and never attempted again.

Nevertheless, the apparently distant goal of resident tutors in

rural areas became an immediate possibility when in April, 1920, the Norfolk L.E.A. invited the District to submit a proposal for a pilot scheme of one-year classes in the northern part of the county.[1] The immediate problem was that of finding a tutor who would be prepared to undertake the work, since the L.E.A. had guaranteed financial support for only one year and the District was in no position to provide any financial aid. Further, the national Association was at this time passing through an extremely difficult financial crisis and thus even though it was an exceptional offer, it was in no position to grant-aid the District to support such an interesting and unusual development.

Fortuitously, an experienced former Oxford Joint Committee tutor, John G. Newlove, was at that time recovering from illness at the Nayland Sanatorium, near Colchester, and at which the District had arranged classes since 1917. Faced with the prospect of unemployment on discharge, Newlove was keen to accept the appointment even on the basis of an experimental one year pilot scheme. Three candidates were interviewed by the District Executive Committee, and he was appointed subject to a satisfactory medical examination. His salary, agreed with the Norfolk L.E.A. and to be paid by them, was £200 a year, and Newlove asked for a further £50 to meet anticipated general expenses. This sum, to be provided from District funds, was approved in principle. In the event, Newlove never received any additional salary from the District because of perennial financial difficulties; a matter over which Newlove became increasingly hostile in subsequent years. Pateman devised a plan with Newlove as the proposed tutor for a group of small

1. Minute Book No. 1 District Executive Committee 24 April 1920. The Committee were enthusiastic and gave the proposal high priority for the following academic year.

settlements in north Norfolk, suggesting that five centres should be established, to be visited by the tutor on a separate evening each week. They thus had to be relatively close to each other and also accessible by rail.

This scheme was accepted by the County Education Committee, largely through the influence of its Vice-Chairman Alderman Sam Peel, a Quaker and interested in the aims of achievements of the W.E.A. He also knew Pateman through the Society of Friends, and had corresponded with him for some time about the work of the new District and the possibilities of development of adult education in the county.

Following local contact and the exploration of interest, classes were arranged at King's Lynn, Wells, Melton Constable, Fakenham and East Dereham. All centres followed the same course on "Industrial and Social History since 1760" and had identical arrangements as One-year classes of 20 meetings. Attendance at all centres was excellent. At Wells, 12 students attended all meetings, and a further 11 missed only one week, some of them in fact cycling several miles into the coastal village from the surrounding district. Unfortunately, no personal records exist of these students and no registers of any of these classes appear to have survived. At Melton Constable, then an important regional railway centre and the Swindon of the Midland and Great Northern Joint Railway Company, the class consisted largely of railway workers and some students often went from the class to a night shift.[1]

Newlove's account of his weekly itinerary through his area hardly

1. W.E.A. Eastern District Annual Report, 1920-21.

suggests that of a patient recovering from serious illness, although this must have been the case since he lived during the year's pilot scheme at Nayland Sanatorium. He took the train from nearby Colchester to King's Lynn on Monday mornings to take his class that evening. Of all these classes this one was certainly supported by the Quaker group in the town and, subsequently, three of his students became county councillors and one, mayor of the borough. Each evening after the class Newlove stayed overnight with a student, leaving the following morning by train to his next centre. In this way he worked his way around north Norfolk to East Dereham on Friday evening, correcting written work submitted while travelling on the train, and returning to Nayland on Saturday morning.[1]

The success of the pilot year's programme and the interest stimulated led to a demand for its continuation and in the case of Wells and East Dereham led directly to the provision of two tutorial classes in the following session, 1921-22, each class having Newlove as its tutor. As a result of the success and the development in the work, now at least foreseeable for a further three years under the University of Cambridge Joint Tutorial Classes Committee, Newlove moved to live in Wells. The County Authority agreed to continue to provide financial support for the scheme and three One-year classes were organised as a product of this continued support; at King's Lynn and Melton Constable, and at Wymondham which replaced Fakenham as a new

1. Conversation with Newlove, 5 August, 1965. He was proud that among his students were Sidney Dye and Edward Gooch, both future M.P.s Minute Book No. 1. District Executive Committee 8 January, 1921. Newlove's report on the first term's work was encouraging. Although not a condition in the courses, some written work had been submitted which encouraged Newlove to consider the possibility of three Tutorial Classes being formed in the following year. Tutorial Classes at Wells and East Dereham were approved in 1921-22, both conducted by Newlove.

centre.[1] All three classes were again taken by Newlove who continued his punishing weekly round of classes, with the increased responsibility which arose from the two Tutorial Classes, both on the subject of "Problems of Democracy". The limitation of the range of topics and the availability of only Newlove as tutor, even under the University Joint Committee's arrangements, exemplified the severe limitation on the principle of Branch freedom over both subject and tutor and, eventually, created problems not only for Newlove in terms of his acceptability after a few years but also for the District's reputation in Norfolk.

By 1924, the scheme was well established and the first two tutorial classes had successfully completed their three year studies. The Norfolk Education Committee over the four years had provided funding of almost £1,000, which easily outstripped the financial support for adult education by all the other-and parsimonious - local authorities in East Anglia. The specific value of the Norfolk scheme had been its practical experience in attempting to organise and support adult education in the District, unprecedented at that time. It was also a demonstration of the immediate beneficial effect of a resident tutor in a large rural area, where hitherto it had been possible only to establish a W.E.A. presence in the county town, Norwich, about thirty miles distant from the area of the scheme.

1. The success of the first year of the Scheme led to Norfolk Education Committee to renew the pattern for 1921-22 and improve the financial arrangements: Newlove's income rose to £265 because of the two tutorial classes, plus his travelling expenses. £60 was available to support each of the two new tutorial classes and £40 for each of the One-year classes. £20 was also provided for advertisement and dissemination of literature about the classes and £5 for a books supplement from the Central Library of Students. £10 was also provided for the administration of the two tutorial classes under the Syndicate's Joint Committee. Most generously too, was the L.E.A. decision to allow the class fees to be retained at the centres for local purposes in connection with their educational activities. (Source: District Executive Committee Minutes, 23 April, 1921, Minute Book No. 1)

For Pateman the Norfolk scheme was a crucial first step in his ambition to organise patterns of provision for the rural areas. It enabled him to demonstrate that not only was he, as secretary of the W.E.A.'s national sub-committee on rural education, in the forefront of the Association's developments in that sphere, but through it had emerged the very apex of the Movement's educational endeavour, the tutorial classes at two Norfolk centres. He could, and did, demonstrate the success of the resident tutor approach. In the Eastern District it had been introduced and had proved to be successful almost without qualification. But it was hardly accurate to describe it as a "rural scheme". In reality, it was a scheme based on, and drawing from, an urban population in five small towns. It was rural, and valuably so, in that some students were drawn into the centres from peripheral rural settlements with, perhaps, the exception of East Dereham, where all the class members were drawn solely from the town. Where the scheme had been outstandingly successful was not only in the engagement of interest and financial support from the L.E.A., without which it could not have been launched or sustained, but also the important part played by the preliminary courses of study before the very demanding tuto rial class study programme was attempted by students; a confirmation of experience elsewhere during the previous decade or so, but without precedent in the District. In its achievements, the Norfolk scheme was a considerable success both for the localities in which it was initiated and also as a first stage in pointing the way for development in the rural areas of the District some five years later, when the first genuinely rural schemes were introduced in Bedfordshire and East Suffolk, and the glimpse of the possibilities afforded by Norfolk became a reality, particularly in Bedfordshire.

The Norfolk scheme ended in 1926, largely as a result of the

illness of Newlove. The County Authority continued to accept full financial responsibility for tutorial classes in the following years but the original pioneering scheme did not resume when Newlove made a partial recovery and resumed as tutor to the Wells tutorial class. There were suggestions that Newlove was not an effective tutor. He was not a graduate and during the period was the only such tutor employed by the Joint Committee for Tutorial Classes - a matter on which some concern was expressed.[1] Nevertheless, although his appointment had been adventitious, it would appear that he must have been initially at least a competent tutor and in many ways exemplified the aspirations of the early W.E.A. and hopes expressed in the Oxford Report, 1908.[2]

Of working class origins, Newlove had left school early, probably before his fourteenth birthday, to become a post office worker and in time an active trade unionist. He also recognised the value of knowledge and regretted his inadequate formal education; but, suspicious of the W.E.A. and its links with the universities, he pursued his studies through a working man's scholarship to Ruskin College, Oxford, where between 1908 and 1910 he studied for the Oxford University Diploma in Economics and Politics. As a 'loyalist' to the college authorities at the time of the internal struggles, he was assisted by Charles Buxton, Vice-Principal of Ruskin, and Zimmern in his studies and eventually was persuaded by them to become a tutor under the Oxford University Joint Committee. This was in the generally euphoric period following the Oxford Report when reform of the University's arrangements on admissions did appear to be possible, and he succumbed to Mansbridge, whom he then met for the first time, in his sincerity and ambition for

1. In March, 1921 he had been interviewed by members of the Joint Tutorial Classes Committee and gained approval initially for one year only.
2. See Chapter 1, .

the alliance between labour and learning which the W.E.A. then sought and believed it could achieve.

According to Newlove, both Mansbridge and Temple had finally convinced him of the value both of tutorial classes for adult workers as they conceived it and of his own special contribution as someone who understood and could teach with authority the importance of higher education for working people. Following persuasion, Newlove had become, probably with the assistance of Mansbridge and Zimmern, a tutor under the Oxford University Delegacy, taking classes in London, Luton and Bournemouth from 1910 to 1914. With the outbreak of the war, he returned to trade union activities eventually becoming General Secretary of the Post Office Workers' Union until his collapse through overwork in 1918, hospitalisation and move to the Nayland Sanatorium where he first met Pateman late in that year.[1]

The Kettering Scheme

From its earliest years, there had been an interest in the W.E.A. in the footwear and engineering towns in the small industrial pocket in Northamptonshire and classes were arranged by the Oxford University Delegacy and, subsequently, the Oxford Joint Tutorial Classes Committee some years before Cambridge University became active in the area. The high level of female employment, well developed trade union organisation and the existence of Co-operative Society factories, had led to a development of classes for both men and women, occasionally with segregation of the sexes. Tutorial Classes had been held in Kettering, Wellingborough and Northampton. At Kettering, Miss Helen Stocks had

1. The section on Newlove is derived from the conversation with him at his home in Norwich, 5 August, 1965, some months before his death and also with Pateman in November, 1965

established a considerable reputation, becoming an Oxford tutor for several years until in 1915, as a prominent feminist, she had organised the first all-female class as a preliminary step towards a full tutorial class exclusively for women. Among the students enrolled was Miss Sophie Green, an employee at the Co-operative Society's clothing factory in the town. Her qualities as a caring person, devoted student and admirer of Miss Stocks led to her being regarded by her tutor as an example of a working class woman who could and should be developed as a leader of women in industry; who recognised the value of adult education in the emancipation of women; and who also had the status within her peer group to promote the ideals of the W.E.A. It is doubtful if she were ever seriously regarded as a proletarian version of the redoubtable Maude Royden, but she was apparently cast in the same mould.

At this time, the national Association had in its endeavours to attract financial support persuaded the Cassel Trust in 1919 of the importance of financing pioneering experiments in the provision of adult education among working class groups. The Trustees of the Fund agreed to the appointment of five tutor-organisers to undertake such work and to pay an annual grant to support their full time appointments over a period of three years.[1] The national Association offered one of the

1. The Cassel Fund Trustees offered a grant to the Association of £2,000 a year for five years from 1919-20 to undertake specific schemes of new activity in adult education. The proposals were subsequently modified by the W.E.A. and led to resident tutors being appointed in Hampshire, East Riding of Yorkshire, S. Wales, Scotland, and Kettering and District. No part of the grant was to be used to meet organising costs or administrative charges in maintaining the schemes, an important condition in view of subsequent problems encountered by Miss Green and the District when presenting reports on her work to the national Association. An interesting set of accounts of the Cassel schemes is given in The Highway September, 1922, p.141.
Miss Stocks became involved in the proposal as it had been on her prompting and assessment of the need, and the capabilities of Miss Green to become the tutor-organiser, that the Kettering area had been one of those selected. Minute Book No. 1. District Executive Committee, 15 November, 1919.

appointments to the Eastern District, and Miss Stocks offered to act as guarantor for a further £100 a year to promote the work of adult education, with an emphasis on development of classes for women, if Miss Green were appointed. With the agreement of everyone concerned, Miss Green was appointed as tutor organiser for the Kettering District and took up her duties in November, 1919, as the District's first tutor-organiser. She immediately returned to the Co-operative Society's clothing factory, which she had left only a few weeks before, in order to conduct a women's class in English Literature and the scheme was launched under the most propitious of circumstances. Although there were many difficulties in the years that lay ahead, Miss Green was to serve the District in the industrial triangle of Northamptonshire, Northampton - Corby - Rushden, continuously until the outbreak of war in 1939.

Initially, as tutor-organiser, Miss Green's activities were centred on Kettering and the district within a 12 mile radius of the town, a decision based on accessibility of potential centres for development. Her work was under the direction of Pateman, although her salary on appointment was only slightly less than his, and its payment more securely based. As mentioned, her work was not solely confined to classes for women, but it was with those of her own sex and background that she was most at ease and achieved her main success. She lacked both higher education and formal training as a tutor upon appointment and although she attempted to overcome these basic handicaps through tutor training courses over several years at Holybrook House, Reading, at a variety of summer schools, and later visited Bryn Mawr College, Pennsylvania, her academic achievements were negligible, a matter which her own native ability, intelligence commitment and sincerity could not wholly overcome even when working with those from

similar backgrounds. There were criticisms of her often from women who regarded themselves of higher social backgrounds than Miss Green, a matter which she felt keenly and which showed through on many occasions when questions were raised about her capacity to undertake courses, both quantitatively and qualitatively.

Her main interests as a tutor, and in these she was apparently very successful over several years, were English Literature and Industrial History provided in one year classes or short introductory courses and, occasionally, in preparatory tutorial classes in these subjects. Her teaching was characterised by its genuine concern for understanding by her students, and she gave freely of her time to individual students, providing tutorials on an individual basis in her home to encourage confidence and assist with written papers, in addition to the prescribed two-hour weekly class session. Her generosity with her own time so freely given to her students became a feature of her work and whatever shortcomings she might have had in the strictly academic sense, there was widespread gratitude from many students for her sincere and devoted attention to their individual needs. Miss Green understood and met the genuine needs of her students, an important W.E.A. precept.

Undoubtedly, this sensitivity stemmed from her own background and determination to succeed in the unusual opportunity and responsibility which had come her way. Miss Stocks kept constant and exceeding kindly watch over her, continuously assisting in her progress as a tutor. She must have been very gratified by the unsolicited, gratuitous praise for Miss Green's efforts which came from members of her classes, especially those who were women, and the loyalty of their support for her in all that she attempted. For example, several women continued to meet with

her on a tutorial or study group basis at her home during the summer months when no classes were arranged, much of the time being spent on work in preparation for courses due to begin in the following autumn. One or two went from her classes to Girton College, Cambridge, for a term's residence where in the masterly understatement of the annual report for 1921-22 they were able "to acquaint students with conditions in industry." Four others followed in 1923-24 to Newnham College from her classes, and established a pattern of attendance at Newnham for several years, at the College's Summer School for working women, which continued up to 1939.

Undoubtedly Miss Green achieved much in the Kettering area for women who had considerable ability but who had been denied, like herself and so many of their generation, opportunities of secondary education and higher education. It was for such people that the W.E.A. was attractive in providing opportunities for serious, continuous study which perhaps no other form of adult education could have offered at that time. In its own turn, the W.E.A. benefited enormously and prospered as an educational Movement from their presence in and contribution to the classes which it offered to them.

Miss Green herself was clearly a remarkable person, and in more enlightened and generous times would almost certainly have proceeded to a college or university education; abilities which Miss Stocks undoubtedly recognised and sought to employ away from the factory bench. Her considerable energy was not exhausted by the demanding routine which was self-imposed of her educational activities. She was also secretary to the Kettering W.E.A. Branch and to the Co-operative clothing factory's education committee; she was active in the cause of establishing improved employment opportunities in Kettering. On her appointment

as tutor-organiser, George Chester, later to become General Secretary of the National Boot and Shoe Operative Union, described her as "the ideal person ... sympathetic, studious, not afraid of hard grinding work and ... displays a vision which few people reach..".[1] He also thought that "... one of the chief virtues of the lady is that she is able to obtain active support and help in all her undertakings." Daniels, the manager of the Co-operative clothing factory at Kettering a nd her previous employer, believed she had been "the inspirer of educational work among the workers which had developed in a very fine manner" before her appointment as the District's tutor-organiser.[2]

Miss Green's energetic activities, much encouraged by Pateman, led to an increase in the number of short courses and study circles in Kettering and the surrounding area, but her highly individual way of organising and personal tutoring work did not lead to a full teaching programme of listed courses by herself and soon questions were raised at District and the national Association about her work load. Pateman showed an avuncular liking for Miss Green, regularly visiting her centres, corresponding on at least a weekly basis usually with much help over routine and other administrative matters. He also spoke regularly at meetings which she organised in her area to encourage and support her efforts and his fledgling colleague. He well knew and understood her difficulties similar to those which he had faced in the past and continued to face in Cambridge in his contact with the academic world. The correspondence between them reveals that she confided in him some of the problems she faced as the factory-hand-turned-tutor in her own district. Miss Stocks was also aware of the difficulties and she consulted Pateman on some of these matters. The correspondence

1. Letter to Pateman, 7 November, 1919. District Letter File
2. Letter to Pateman, 10 November, 1919. District Letter File

indicates that on occasions pretentious working class members of reading circles and terminal courses such as clerks and shop assistants considered themselves superior to their tutor and were unkind to Miss Green, an experience as deeply wounding as it was unjustified.

It is important to record that although she was generously supported by Pateman and Miss Stocks, they were realistic about her abilities and she was not given carte blanche in the Kettering area for all courses and classes. Her preference for women's classes was understandable and accepted as a natural diffidence, common to many of her sex at that time, and she was conscious of her own academic limitations. When it was suggested that she should take a three year tutorial class for men at Irthlingborough in 1920-21, she showed some initial reluctance to consider it.[1] Miss Stocks was quite clear and forthright ruling out the possibility on the grounds of her unsuitability and Miss Green's inability to maintain the exacting standards required. This was a delicate matter in any case as it was extremely unlikely that the Cambridge University Tutorial Classes Committee would have appointed Miss Green as one of its tutors.[2]

1. Letters to Pateman, January, 1920
2. Letter to Pateman 20 February, 1920 District Letter File. A matter to which Miss Green was to refer some years later with unjustified anger. It was clear even some years later in 1931 she was not of the standard required for Tutorial Class tuition. T.W. Price, Holybrook House, wrote in confidence to Pateman, October, 1931, about Miss Green's tutor training course at Reading in the summer of 1931: "I think the chief weakness with Miss Green is her dependence on books: she is prone to reproduce what she has read instead of assimilating the matter and using it. Because of this, she is rather weak when she is called upon to get a new subject or to deal with a new point of view... Further, she seems to find it difficult to take a detached and critical view of a subject... In view of all this I think her best work will be done with pioneer groups... I was impressed by her earnestness (as I have always been). She really does feel deeply about the W.E.A. and is soaked in its ideals... It would be a great pity if we were to lose her. I feel she can do valuable work ... for she has the capacity to inspire beginners - particularly girls and women. I rather sensed she was very conscious of her weaknesses and was inclued to be discouraged. I think we must be patient with her and give her all the sympathy and encouragement we can... I feel that she has a part to play in the Association." Price of course knew that she had since 1919 worked largely in pioneering elementary courses especially with those of her own sex.

A further difficulty might have arisen over the question of Miss Green's ability to conduct university tutorial classes when the application for the renewal of her salary grant had to be prepared for consideration by the Cassel Fund Trustees. Miss Stocks quickly extinguished the matter, with the active support of Tawney who held Miss Green in high esteem for her achievements and valuable work for the W.E.A. Miss Stocks virtually instructed Pateman to inform the Trustees that they "ought to be thankful to get Miss Green ... (she) ... is capable of doing first rate educational work and it would be a great pity not to give her a really good chance", renew the grant aid to enable her to consolidate and extend the work undertaken during the initial period.[1] Pateman agreed and did as he was asked and the scheme was approved for a further three years.

However, during the initial three-year period, Miss Green created some difficulties. The physical demands of her commitment to the cause of adult education in her area and the consequent drain on her nervous energy, as well as an inner tension about her capacity in the new role as tutor-organiser, led to a crisis largely of her own making. It was ironic that it should have been Pateman who, unwittingly, provided the flash-point. A mildly worded request from him which was undoubtedly being relayed on behalf of the District's committee, that she might consider increasing the number of classes taught by her produced an anguished response wholly disproportionate to the matter.[2] The District and the local Branches, Miss Stocks, the national Association and Tawney were all swept into a verbal convulsion with the unfortunate Pateman at its centre, all because Miss Green mistakenly believed that the standard and quality of her work was being questioned; she submitted her

1. Letters to Pateman, 13 February, 1920 and 2 February, 1921
2. Pateman to Miss Green, April, 1921

resignation in April, 1921.

In fact, the difficulty originated in the terms of her appointment. The Cassel Trustees had provided funds for the appointment of a tutor, with a not unreasonable expectation that a large proportion of the time available would be devoted to teaching. The District had appointed her as tutor-organiser, seeking to stimulate development of class and course work in the industrial villages and towns of Northamptonshire to which Pateman had been able to devote little time and energy, as he was then involved in the District's development of the possibilities of a rural scheme in East Anglia. With an organising as well as a teaching responsibility it was not surprising that Miss Green's total of classes taught was lower than those of other tutors supported by the Fund. It is almost certain that the difficulty only emerged when the Central Office of the W.E.A. asked for details of Miss Green's work during the period of appointment and were clearly dis-satisfied with the number of classes and courses which had been conducted by her. Pateman feared that unless the number could be increased before the three-year period elapsed the possibility of a renewal of the Fund's grant would be extremely unlikely and if this were to happen, at a time when both the District and national Association were in depressed financial conditions, the Kettering initiative would have to be abandoned. Without her considerable presence and support the activities of the District in that area would be jeopardised for the foreseeable future. The prospect was bleak.

Pateman was well aware of the demands on time and effort which organising required, often for scant visible reward; his own experience in the District was not dissimilar. He said so in a letter to Miss Stocks during the course of the crisis over Miss Green's reaction to

his January suggestion, "organising comes out badly on paper".[1] Further, Miss Green's unconventional methods of undertaking her work were extremely demanding of her time and effort, and yet could not be represented as part of her recognised teaching activities since her individual tutorial and small group work could not be included as part of a formal programme of courses and classes. She had accurately assessed the needs of many of her students, drawing on her own experience, in that above all, they needed individual tuition to overcome specific difficulties, especially over written work which Miss Green was encouraging, even on terminal courses, and to develop confidence and genuine learning from her under-educated women adult students. Her success in these spheres led to the devotion and support which she obtained from members of her classes and enabled an exceptionally good rapport to develop in the process of learning together. All this was unquestionably educationally sound and praise-worthy but could not be reflected in the statistics which the application for renewal required. There was also the dilemma of the possible adverse reaction by the Trustees on learning that funds intended for tutoring had been used for organising purposes.

Miss Stocks was also alarmed at the likelihood of an end to the Kettering scheme and the abandonment of the scheme. Miss Green's cause and her appointment had been actively promoted by her, and not without considerable difficulty she had found additional monies to support the scheme, much of it from her own resources. It is clear from correspondence with Pateman that Miss Stocks did not intend to lose either her protege or abandon without protest her own efforts in the cause of women's education.

1. Pateman to Miss Stocks, March, 1921

Largely through the efforts of Miss Stocks and the intervention of Tawney, both of whom admired Miss Green and her achievements, and with the willing support of Pateman, miserably conscious of his part in the matter, Miss Green was persuaded to withdraw her resignation and was assured that neither the quantity nor quality of her work had been questioned by the officers of the District.[1] It appears that the Cassel Trustees, having learned nothing of this domestic crisis, acceded to the strong recommendation of the national Association to continue the financial support for a further three years, and Miss Stocks canvassed her friends and acquaintances to raise a further sum as guarantor, including a £5 donation from Lady Astor!

The withdrawal of the Cassel grant for Miss Green would have created an impression with the national Association that the District had failed to use the grant to good effect and the Association would have been embarrassed in its future relations with the Cassel Trust in attempts to secure further financial support. For the District, Miss Green was an effective standard bearer and also its first resident tutor-organiser: new centres had been established at Corby, Desborough, Rothwell and Thorpe Malsor through her efforts.[2] She was a valuable member of the Kettering Branch, becoming respected in the town, and her work with individual students was in the best traditions of the W.E.A., and a matter of admiration and approval by Tawney. She gave several lectures to and formed close, personal links with local Adult Schools, Young Co-operators and Women's Co-operative Guilds, including her pioneering classes for working women at the Co-operative clothing factory in Kettering. Further she had established a personal, developing link with Newnham College, Cambridge, independent of the

1. Minute Book No. 1. District Executive Meeting 25 June, 1921
2. See Table No. 2, pp.210-213.

District through her trade union membership. The termination of her appointment would have represented a serious loss to the District in its most active area, which unfortunately was not within an L.E.A. likely to provide more than token assistance. Although not a genuine tutor-organiser in the accepted sense of the term, the District was gaining valuable experience and later used Miss Green's work as an example of the principle when seeking other appointments.

District Financial Crisis

The District shared with the national Association, and partially reflecting its problems, the difficulty of maintaining financial solvency in the post-war period prior to the introduction of the Adult Education Regulations in 1924. Until these were introduced, the criteria for the recognition of W.E.A. classes, except those already covered under the special arrangements for tutorial classes, were inappropriate for many of the activities in which the Association was engaged and many of its pioneering classes in liberal adult education relied on income from class fees, deliberately kept at a low level to attract those earning low wages; augmented by donations from subscribers, and affiliation fees from local or national organisations notably trades councils, co-operative societies and trade unions.[1] The payments to part-time tutors together with their travelling expenses, advertisements for classes, hire of rooms and payment of caretakers were hardly ever

1. For example, about 25% of the District's income of £550 came from these sources in 1921-22 but expenditure amounted to £790 and illustrate the inevitability of a deficit on working which was bound to increase directly as the number of classes and courses expanded. Although not a direct charge on District funds, a similar situation existed over tutorial classes at the Syndicate. For example its working deficit on tutorial classes in its final year, 1923-24 was £470 which was met from a £2,000 government grant for extra-mural work.

matched by income derived from enrolments or even when these were combined with the level of grant earned under the Board's regulations and the discretionary grant-aid provided by some of the L.E.A.s in the District's area. As already noted earlier, Norfolk County Council was the only Authority to provide full financial support to meet all the expenses incurred in the provision of Newlove's classes in the county.

In addition to the necessity of subsidising almost every class in the District, the largest single item of District expenditure was Pateman's salary, which was met in full by the national Association in fulfilment of Mansbridge's promise in 1915. However, by 1920, the national Association's position was so precarious that in reviewing its commitments to all Districts, there was a deliberate decision to put pressure on those which were not financially self-sufficient to accept responsibility for their own solvency.

Until the 1918-19 financial year when the District assumed responsibility for its financial affairs and Salter was appointed as treasurer, the Association had met all the deficits incurred in the development of the new District, in which the appointment of Pateman was regarded as the cornerstone of its future success. For the District, the objective was the development of its educational activities and the extension of its organisational influence both in the development of new Branches and the encouragement of existing ones. It was also important to ensure acceptance of an acknowledged status of the District in the extra-mural work of the University of Cambridge as an equal partner in stimulating demand and satisfying the needs of communities within the region, so that university extension classes and those of the W.E.A. would be recognised as complementary elements in the provision

of liberal adult education. In both these respects, the early years of Pateman's appointment had been very successful: his position had been recognised by the Syndicate through the office he held as Joint Secretary to the University Tutorial Classes Committee and for his valuable work in connection with the expanding importance of the Cambridge summer school. Further, his full-time appointment enabled him to travel extensively and continuously throughout the region stimulating interest in the W.E.A. and relieving the considerable burden which had hitherto devolved on the other officers of the District, notably Hutley, who were conscious of their own inadequacies in fulfilling the intentions of the W.E.A. in generating activities and also in their ability to satisfy the resulting demand from a variety of responses - ranging from answering enquiries for information to visiting centres wishing to arrange classes or establish Branches. He had become the indispensable factor in the assumptions and plans for the development of the District and the fulcrum on which its success depended.

For the national Association, the Eastern, with other Districts, made a major contribution to the problems which represented an immediate and unresolved drain on its slender financial resources and the position reached a critical level in mid-1919. Arising from this particular crisis, the Association attempted to resolve at least one of its problems over the annual commitment to finding Pateman's salary.

A loosely agreed compact emerged from a discussion between Pateman and Mactavish which led to Mrs. Ruth Dalton being invited by the national Association to undertake a special fund-raising campaign

in the Eastern District.[1] Initially, it was somewhat vaguely agreed that her salary and expenses would be the first charge on the sum realised, a further sum of £200 would be provided for the expansion of work in the District and any residue would be divided between the Association and the District.

It is probable that the precarious financial position of the District, and an appreciation of the difficulties of the national Association, were responsible for imprecision in the arrangements. Pateman's salary was yet again in arrears with the national Association unable to meet in full its commitment to him. Some planned journeys and visits by Pateman within the District were cancelled simply because there were no funds for railway fares and pressure from the District on the Association for financial support had already produced an aggressive reaction from Mactavish.

The trigger mechanism of the schism between the District and the national Association was, ironically, the Dalton Special Appeal, although there is a clear impression in various papers and correspondence that Pateman and Mactavish were not mutually attracted to each other.[2]

1. Mactavish wrote to Pateman, 25 October, 1919, about the possibility of Mrs. Dalton's assistance to the District: "Of course the first charge on any sum raised would necessarily be (her) salary. Secondly, as sum of not less than £200 should be devoted to your District. Over and above this sum, I think we ought to consider what portion should come to the Centre and what portion to your District."
   The District agreed to the proposal and suggested a target figure of £400. Mrs. Dalton referred to her appointment as "Beggar for the District. I am quite nervous about it as I realise the difficulty of the task" in a letter to Pateman on 6 November, 1919.
2. Pateman wrote to Hutley on 1 January, 1920. "I do know that he (Mactavish) has upset several District Secretaries recently ... Alround (sic) there is general dissatisfaction."

Although much research is needed on the growth and development of the W.E.A. following the resignation of Mansbridge as General Secretary of the Association, it is generally acknowledged that Mactavish faced an extremely difficult task in replacing him, a difficulty which anyone would have found formidable, but Mactavish's personality, background and antipathetic attitude to some of the earlier compacts with the university, church and wide range of political influences exacerbated the position.

Mansbridge's charismatic, mercurial qualities had created a following which was at least as attracted to the man as to his ideas, powerful though the latter were: his political, manipulative skills in marshalling opinion and harnessing the support and energies of people in positions of influence and, frequently, power were not without significance for them in a wider sense than envisaged even by Mansbridge. Pateman was one of the devoted band of disciples who still hoped for Mansbridge's return to a central position in the Association's activities.

For this large group the appointment of Mactavish was a descent from the Olympus of pre-war vision, with its subsequent realisation in the alliance with the universities, to the polders of the reluctant, divided indifference of the trade unions. But many had recognised, and Mansbridge was one of those holding the opinion, that perhaps the heady alliance with the universities had gone too far and had alienated large and important sections of organised working class opinion. Mactavish's appointment reflected for them a desirable, and necessary, course correction in steering the W.E.A. towards the goals of its original intention of parity of the relationship between "labour and learning" which had been demanded by Mactavish in his forthright

intervention at the 1907 Oxford Conference.[1] The importance of his contribution was fully acknowledged by Mansbridge and it had been Mactavish who had transformed the 1907 Oxford Conference from its carefully stage-managed, intellectual rationalism into a dynamic occasion fired with realism of the genuine needs of the working classes in their demand for access for education which had been denied them.[2]

Nevertheless, in 1916, there clearly was some disquiet over the translation of the Portsmouth shipwright to General Secretary of the W.E.A. in direct succession to Mansbridge. For some, the contrast between Mansbridge and his successor was too great to be viewed with equanimity. Beatrice Webb's brief, penetrating description is thought to have caught the man precisely: "a blunt, energetic and somewhat commonplace Scot".[3] Pateman, for one, clearly believed that Mactavish made little effort to 'grow into the office', did little as Pateman thought was desirable to modulate his natural manner, and felt that he lacked any of the Mansbridge subtlety and deftness in handling relationships in the promotion of the cause of the W.E.A., or even within the Movement itself.[4]

Substance is given to this view, and confirming its subjectivity, by Mactavish's blustery handling of Pateman in 1919 when the financial difficulties of the national Association led to the decision by Mactavish to reduce its financial commitment to the District. As already mentioned, the original intentions of October, 1919, for the Dalton fund-raising activities were somewhat vaguely defined. By

1. Chapter 1, p.46.
2. A. Mansbridge University Tutorial Classes, op.cit. Appendix IX contains the full text of Mactavish's speech
3. M.I. Cole (Ed.) Beatrice Webb's Diaries 1912-24, p.105
4. Conversation with Pateman, November, 1965

November, 1919, Mactavish had extended the intentions to include "a certain portion of money towards the payment of your (i.e. Pateman's) salary".[1] By the following month it had become extended to "relieving the Central Funds of its present responsibility in regards to your salary".[2] By this date, the idea of a fund for the expansion of the District's activities appears to have been discarded. This was a considerable surprise to Pateman and represented an alarming reversal of what he had understood to have been a central objective behind the scheme and important in his agreement to the Dalton initiative.

For Pateman, the fund would provide those resources, which were unlikely to be found from any other source, which he regarded as vital to the development, and thus the status, of the District and of first priority in the region: the establishment of new Branches and particularly the pioneering work in the rural areas, in which he was becoming an important figure in the W.E.A. and to which he had a growing commitment. He also hoped that some much needed clerical assistance might be financed to relieve him of routine administrative work so that more time might be given to 'missionary' field work, again principally in the rural areas. Above all, the apparent change in attitude by Mactavish was reprehensible as far as Pateman was concerned in its stark implication that the fund raising activity was a device by which the national Association could shed its responsibilities for his salary, a commitment into which it had freely entered less than three years earlier. Here again, he saw a promise made by Mansbridge in 1915, reluctantly implemented by Mactavish in 1917, now about to be discarded

1. Letter from Mactavish to Pateman, 24 November, 1919
2. Letter from Pateman to Mactavish, 8 December, 1919

at the first opportunity.[1] He was also conscious of the fact that the District would be totally incapable of meeting a commitment to funding his salary, let alone having the resources to finance development of educational work other than that available through the University Joint Committee for Tutorial Classes.

Mactavish, as he was subsequently to admit,[2] wrote a blunt, hostile letter to Pateman on 10 December, 1919, stressing that the first charge on any District was its Secretary's salary and that every District should aim at financial autonomy. In the Eastern District, the national Association had paid Pateman's salary for more than two years without any real effort or contribution being made towards it by the District. This letter confirmed that whatever else might have been said in the vague agreement of October, it was a clear intention of Mactavish that, in suggesting the assistance of Mrs. Dalton to help the District to raise funds, the objective of financial self-sufficiency in the District was at the heart of the plan to relieve the national Association of continued responsibility for Pateman's salary. Objectively, although the personal antipathy cannot be entirely disregarded, Mactavish was applying general W.E.A. policy, which was that support to Districts should be limited to a three-year span, and if financial autonomy had not been achieved at the end of that period the District should be allowed to 'fail' and its work be placed on some other footing.[3] There is no known record extant of this policy ever being implemented.

Whatever Mactavish's intentions, Pateman's response was immediate

1. This is based on impression rather than direct statement by Pateman in 1965.
2. Letter from Mactavish to Hutley (District Chairman) 18 December, 1919.
3. Policy quoted in Mactavish's letter to Pateman, 10 December, 1919.

and dramatic. He could not foresee any practicable solution to the District's financial difficulties in the immediate future; he was distressed that his salary should prove to be a burden accepted only with reluctance by the Association in the past and unacceptable in the future, a position from which he made the not unreasonable extrapolation that both he, as a person, and the office which he held were expendable. His personal dislike of Mactavish which he had barely concealed in the past was now explicit and left him with no alternative but to submit his resignation to Hutley, District Chairman.[1]

Notwithstanding all the reasons and the rectitude of his actions, there is a strong suggestion about the way in which Pateman conducted his resignation at this time, that he had taken a calculated risk on

1. Mactavish was to claim later that his letter had been sent at a moment of considerable stress in the financial affairs of the national Association. On December 19, 1919, the day he had written to Pateman, he had despatched an urgent appeal for £700; he had taken risk after risk over finances to assist Districts which were not self-financing. The Eastern District in the previous two and a half years had "done practically nothing to contribute to it" i.e. the payment of Pateman's salary, and during that time Pateman's salary had in effect been raised from contributions in other Districts. He had appointed Mrs. Dalton to raise the fund with a view to putting the District on a self-supporting basis, and the General Purposes Committee of the Central Executive of the national Association had resolved: "that the intention of the Committee in asking Mrs. Dalton to raise money for the District was to enable it to become self-supporting and thus relieve the Central Funds of its present responsibility in regard to Mr. Pateman's salary; and that the essential points of the situation were:
    a. That the first charge upon the funds collected must be the payment of Mrs. Dalton's salary and expenses
    b. That the funds must be used for putting the District on a self-supporting basis and relieving the funds of the centre
    c. That Mrs. Dalton's salary be paid by the Centre and that she be finally responsible to the Centre." (Minute 335)

   This letter proved to be more than Pateman was prepared to accept and on the 14th he tendered his resignation to Hutley, Chairman of the District. On the 16th Hutley wrote to Pateman to re-assure him of District support "I am sure the District Council will wish to retain your services at all costs as your leaving us would mean the break up of the District organisation, so far as I can see."

the assumption that his standing with the District Council and its Executive Committee was such that he could expect their full support in an open confrontation with Mactavish. With their support he would succeed in defeating the General Secretary through the autonomous position of the District, and by gaining support from other Districts which were largely responsible for the formulation of W.E.A. national policy. Mansbridge his mentor, was still an influential member of the Association and convinced of the importance of an active, vigorous District in close association with the University of Cambridge. If all else failed, it was possible that the support of the District over the matter might force it into a position of greater awareness and sense of responsibility to become more vigorous in pursuing the elusive goal of financial self-sufficiency and thus under-write fully its commitment to the development of educational activities in the region and retain its salaried secretary. Some of these considerations were to come to the surface independently of the immediate crisis, and show that if the matter had not been resolved through the settlement of the difficulties between the protagonists, the second line of support would have been unacceptably weak, and Pateman could not have continued as District Secretary.

Pateman, in submitting his resignation to Hutley, did not inform other members of the District Executive Committee; neither apparently did Hutley at that stage. Hutley fortunately and wisely refused to act hastily or take the offensive with the national Association. He assumed that there had been some misunderstanding between the two officers and adopted the role of conciliator. He wrote immediately to Mactavish and Pateman about the regrettable development and obtained an offer of compromise from Mactavish.[1] He was, however, embarrassed and

1. On 17 December, 1919.

discomfited by Pateman who proved to be unbending and intractable. Hutley kept the matter confidential to the trio, but Pateman somewhat unwisely wrote to acquaint the influential Mrs. Dalton with the position, presumably to enlist her support.[1] Additionally, he either misunderstood arrangements for, or deliberately avoided, a meeting with Hutley and Mactavish in Ipswich intended to resolve the difficulties and also refused to meet Mactavish in London a little later, in a further attempt to settle their personal differences. Further, he refused to accept any verbal explanation or understanding from Mactavish.[2]

The breach now opened between both men was now irreparable and never closed, a position which must have adversely affected the formal, official relationship between the District and the national Association. Until detailed research is undertaken on the central records of the national W.E.A. it is possible only to speculate about the adverse effects on the District which might have arisen from the antipathetic relationship which existed between Mactavish and Pateman, but it is noteworthy that following the Cassel Trust grant to support the Kettering Scheme in 1919, no further national Association initiatives appear to have been offered, accepted and translated into developments in the District until 1927 when the Bedfordshire Scheme was launched. This was also the year in which Mactavish effectively had surrendered his office to J.W. Muir, as Acting General Secretary, until the former's formal resignation in 1928.[3]

1. Pateman to Mrs. Dalton 29 December, 1919
2. Letter from Pateman to Hutley, 24 December, 1919
3. The animus which existed between Pateman and Mactavish also had local repercussions as well as creating longer term difficulties between the District and the national Association. For example, at King's College, Cambridge, where a potential support for the District existed in 1919-20 through Hugh Dalton who was a Fellow of the College, the problem created by the schism became known through Mrs. Dalton's involvement, and thus an important source of support was lost through a sense of apprehension and lack of confidence in the way in which the Secretary of the District was striking an attitde of non-cooperation with the national body. F.M.Jacques learned of this from Hugh Dalton in 1937-38.

While this crisis was seriously damaging the national-District relationship, Mrs. Dalton had begun her fund-raising activities in November, 1919 through a series of appeals in the region to individuals in industry and public life; to Cambridge University as well as to a variety of charitable organisations, commercial companies, trade unions and co-operative societies and by May, 1920, donations were in aggregate nearing the target figure of £400. Concurrently, Mactavish maintained his offer to work for a compromise satisfactory to both District and national Association.[1] By January, 1920 the District Executive knew of Pateman's resignation, and some of the circumstances in which it had been offered, but had not formally

1. Mactavish on receipt of Hutley's letter sent a telegram expressing entire agreement with Hutley's endeavours to resolve the misunderstanding and also wrote to him the same day, 18 December, 1919: "I feel that would settle the whole matter if Pateman, you and I met first and had a downright heart to heart talk. I am inclined to think that the misunderstanding is due to two over-tired men discussing by letter a problem from two different angles. I certainly let myself go a bit when I wrote Pateman last, and am more than sorry if as a result he has got the unfortunate idea that his salary is a burden. That is not what I meant to convey. I wanted him to see the dimensions of my worries over the Centre's financial problem and to get him to co-operate with me in helping to solve it. But there. I will be better able to go into the whole matter when I meet you."
   It was not until the 31 December that Hutley apparently knew the purpose of Mrs. Dalton's fund-raising activities in the District - an astonishing position. He wrote to Pateman that he had thought she was trying to raise a fund by donations, to encourage District development which therefore would have been of little value in trying to resolve the problem of Pateman's salary. From Mactavish, he had learned that Mrs. Dalton was attempting to raise annual subscriptions guaranteed for a period of three years, and could see the difference of interpretation between Pateman and Mactavish. On the latter criterion it was possible to recognise that any funds raised by Mrs. Dalton could be applied to the relieving of the national Association's responsibility for Pateman's salary. This approach, combined with a Development fund which would expand the work of the District and establish a more secure basis for financial self-sufficiency, appeared entirely reasonable and Hutley had been impressed by Mactavish's "most friendly attitude and (he) quite convinced me of his sincerity."
   A few days later, Hutley wrote to Pateman following further exchanges with Mactavish who accepted that "the only way to place the District on a self-supporting basis is to spend more money on development. This he now guarantees will be done." Letter dated 2 January, 1920. The promise was not fulfilled.

accepted it as they hoped, indeed pressed, Pateman to withdraw his letter. Mrs. Dalton, cast in the role of financial expert and saviour, had also written to Pateman with considerable tact and persuasion giving her own interpretation of the fund-raising arrangement which was not that of Mactavish's. In her view, the goal of relieving the national Association of responsibility for Pateman's salary was part of her campaign but it was of lower priority than the £200 which she knew Pateman wanted for expansion of the District's educational work. She added, tellingly because she possibly knew some of the reasons underlying Pateman's apparently intransigent attitude, that the District would be in very serious difficulties were he not to continue as its Secretary.[1]

In March, 1920, the overtures at last combined to reduce Pateman's resentment and he finally withdrew his letter of resignation. As a result of this protracted affair, Pateman emerged as completely vindicated and indispensable: indispensable because the District had been faced with the possibility of either having to appoint a new Secretary, which would almost certainly have been possible only on an honorary or part-time salaried basis, or attempting to maintain a District organisation without a Secretary, in which case the viability of the existing District would have been an extremely doubtful proposition. As it transpired, Pateman's position was made even more secure as a result of consideration of the unpromising alternative, a strength which he recognised and which made him sufficiently confident to resign the duties of secretary to the national Association's Rural Sub-committee an act for which he publicly held Mactavish responsible; for similarly stated reasons he no longer undertook any duties in the

1. Mrs. Dalton's letter to Pateman 4 January, 1920.

District on Sundays!

By June, 1920, matters were, at least superficially, settled. Mrs. Dalton's appeal aggregated a net sum of £350 of which, as agreed in the compromise with Mactavish, £200 was retained by the District for expansion of its educational activities and the residue remitted to the national Association's funds. The District's share of £200 was placed in a Development Fund to be used to support new educational activities throughout the District and to finance village lantern lectures during the following three years.[1] The District was also to receive a reduced grant-in-aid from the Association as it had not achieved the expected financial self-sufficiency. Indeed, it is possible that the difficulties during late 1919 and early 1920 might

1. Of the £400 gross raised by Mrs. Dalton, about £105 was raised in the Ipswich area, with Norwich and Northamptonshire being the other two centres in which substantial sums were raised. When writing to Pateman in June and July 1920, at the end of her campaign she was most insistent that the District should devote significant sums from the Development Fund to these areas as some of the donations had been given by firms, particularly engineering firms in Norwich and Ipswich who were expecting the District to persuade some of their employees into classes, and the Boot and Shoe manufacturers in Rushden and Kettering. She thought a major effort should be made to strengthen the Norwich and Northampton Branches so that they would become more active in both towns to demonstrate the value of donations given by local firms and at the same time make it possible to renew applications for donations from the firms which had contributed to her campaign. (Letter to Pateman 16 June, 1920) It is also clear from the final selection of letters from March to July 1920, that Mrs. Dalton was more successful in obtaining donations than in securing subscriptions guaranteed over three years. Little money came in to District funds on a subscription basis in subsequent years apart from individuals, probably in toto less than £100. Thus Mactavish's interpretation of Mrs. Dalton's mission was not realised and the financial difficulties of the District continued and increased in severity. The difficulties experienced in the District were also reflected and amplified at national level. In 1920 the deficit in the national Association's accounts amounted to £2,500 which was reduced to £1,000 in the following year (See Mary Stocker op.cit. pp.100-101)

have made those concerned at District level inclined to prosecute the cause of financial self-sufficiency with less vigour than might otherwise have been forthcoming simply because of the antipathy which now existed between the national Association and the District. It cannot have been mere coincidence that the District Chairman, S.J. Hutley, who had achieved almost single-handedly the compromise agreement, resigned his office at the 1920 Annual Meeting and virtually disappeared from the counsels of the District although continuing as a prominent and active member of the Ipswich Branch.[1] That was only one of the damaging results of the crisis: others were to follow throughout the period and, indeed, the appointment of Pateman as Assistant Secretary to the Cambridge University Board of Extra-Mural Studies in 1935 was possibly influenced by the affair and the failure to pursue adequately his own desire for the development of adult education in the rural districts of the region. The District did not appear to learn from the experience and genuinely attempt to tackle some of the causes of their own inadequacies as an organisation and so by the end of the period covered by this chapter the funds accumulated in 1920 were exhausted. By 1924, the District was once more operating at a serious deficit level, were £200 in debt of which £115 was owed to Pateman in salary arrears.

The Problem of Financial Self-Sufficiency

Pateman's value to the District, even without the testing time of the Mactavish episode of late 1919, was readily acknowledged, but it is surprising in view of the gravity of the financial position to discover that his salary was increased by a further £40 a year to £275 as from May, 1920, which represented a second increase in salary since

1. Hutley was succeeded by Mrs. Clara Rackham.

his appointment in late 1917.[1] Almost immediately, in June 1920, Salter as District Treasurer was reporting an estimated deficit of £300 for the financial year then ending, 1919-20. A series of urgent measures was approved at the annual meeting that month, including an appeal to be made immediately for financial support from Branches and subscribers and to seek new affiliations to the District as well as new subscriptions from individuals. Branch dues to the District fund were to be increased from a penny in every shilling of income to twopence and every Branch was urged to recruit new members. Finally, it was also agreed to ask Mrs. Dalton to continue in the District with a second phase of the fund-raising campaign.[2]

In almost every particular the agreed measures failed to increase income significantly and Mrs. Dalton firmly declined the invitation to return to the task of augmenting its income in order to meet its financial needs. By the following April, Salter reported that the appeal had brought in only £10 from Branches, with a further £18 promised, and £53 from individual members and well-wishers.[3] Yet again during this period from June, 1920 to April, 1921, the national Association had provided a loan of £245, of which only £55 had been repaid. By the end of the financial year, 31st May, the debt had increased to about £360 and it was agreed that the question of eliminating the deficit be referred to the national Association for consideration for further assistance, which might be forthcoming after the detailed accounts of the District had been scrutinised at the Central Office of the W.E.A.

1. Minute Book No. 1. District Council 19 June, 1920, possibly the increase was related to the salary provided for Newlove of £200 (to which it was hoped to add a further £50) who had been appointed as the resident tutor for Norfolk earlier that day.
2. Ibid
3. Minute Book No. 1. District Executive 23 April, 1921

During this particular year, 1920-21, there was a growing sense of acceptance by the officers of the District that financial self-sufficiency was not realisable and their continued dependence on the national Association was inevitable for the immediate future. The net total of the national Association's grant to the District of almost £300 was only £80 less than income derived from all sources by the District. Branch subscriptions for the year amounted to a mere £28, individual subscriptions and donations amounted to a further £99 and the Special Appeal for that year eventually reached £96. Yet at the annual meeting of the District at which the position was revealed, there was unquestioned acceptance of the national Association's new salary scales for District Secretaries. For the Eastern District, this fixed Pateman's salary at £310 with annual increments of £10 a year rising to a maximum of £400. In agreeing this further increase in salary, the District yet again called for urgent measures to increase its income by a further minimum of £350 a year if it was to meet its extra responsibility for the Secretary's salary and to place the District on an independent financial footing.[1]

The position deteriorated even further, and by October, 1921 there was an inescapable acceptance that the District was unable to meet its existing financial commitments, let alone consider those of more recent

1. Minute Book No. 1. District Executive 25 June, 1921. The very favourable response of the members of this Committee appears somewhat curious, in the light of the very serious financial position and the inability to meet their existing commitment over Pateman's salary. It is impossible to ignore the possibility that the District officers, including Salter, did not understand elementary accountancy or recognise the implications of the financial position nor the causal relationship between the expansion in non-tutorial class activity and the increasing deficit. Mrs. Clara Rackham in conversation with Williams in November, 1965 confessed that in June, 1921, they were all "baffled by the financial problems, and Salter was as puzzled as the rest".

agreement. Wimble, then Financial Secretary to the national Association, met the District Executive Committee in Salter's rooms at Magdalene College on 29 October and apprised the District's officers with the critical financial position at national level. He was confident that the fabric of the national Association's machinery could be maintained provided that the drain on its slender funds by the needs of impecunious Districts could be reduced, if not stopped. In future, the national Association could give no general guarantee of financial help and Districts requiring funds were to submit monthly applications for financial help which would then be considered on merit and necessity. Yet again, the District agreed to the now familiar but ineffective three-point plan: appeals to be made to Branches for increased financial contributions from members and classes; efforts be made to secure new affiliations to the District; the establishment of a special Fund specifically to meet the deficit on the current financial year's estimates.[1]

A circular letter was sent by the District's officers to all Branches and Members of the District in November, 1921, setting out the position explained by Wimble and the measures proposed to resolve the financial problems. In the interim, the Development Fund of £200 created from the success of the Dalton appeal in 1920 was used to reduce the District's deficit and almost 60% of the funds were allocated for this purpose in the first year of its existence. Pateman's salary was again in arrears as the national Association had been unable to issue any cheques during the months of November and December, 1920. However, as the number of District classes had increased during the year, the expenditure on these was inevitably to lead to an increase in the deficit.

1. Minute Book No. 1. District Executive 29 October, 1921.

The problem of finance was, of course, fundamentally related to the growth in the educational activities of the District. The twenty five Branches and Centres at which the District organised and arranged one-year and other classes had fixed fees for the classes and membership subscriptions to Branches at the lowest possible level, often at pre-war charges of sixpence or a shilling, to ensure that anyone who wished to enrol for courses should not be debarred on financial grounds. By 1920, it was difficult to consider increasing fees to students since unemployment was rising rapidly and many others were on short-time work employment. It was feared that to have increased fees would precipitate a dramatic reduction in enrolments, a position which the national Association could not accept simply because it was not to know that the post-war 'boom' in W.E.A. activity had begun to decline in 1921, except in tutorial classes.[1]

In its physical growth both at national and District levels the W.E.A. was not geared to any formula involving matching of income to expenditure. Thus, the more successful the provision, the greater the financial expenditure and the deficit which had to be met from income sources other than fees. This practice had been reasonably successful when the Movement had been relatively small because there was an agreement with the universities and the Board of Education for Tutorial Classes. Income from affiliated societies and subscriptions, many of which disappeared either because of, or during the upheaval of, the war had been generally sufficient to meet the relatively small deficits on a limited number of classes, largely tutorial and thus attractive to

1. In 1919-20 the growth in the national Association's activities reached a peak of post-war provision: Number of Branches increased by 30%, tutorial classes increased by 50%, while the number of one-year classes increased by a remarkable 125%. In aggregate during 1919-20 the total number of students in all classes increased by 228% over the previous year's figures. Detailed statistics are given in The Highway Vol. XII, No. 11 August, 1920, p.189.

many supporters of the Association. With the rapid expansion in classes and courses in the post-war period particularly other than Tutorial Classes and the increase in the number of tutors required some of whom were now entering the field of adult education in search of full-time career positions, and unable or disinclined to return their fees as donations to the development of the Association's work. Thus the largest single item of expenditure in the provision of courses, the tutors' fees, also increased considerably.

Further, as the organisational complexity of the Association's work increased, so did the administrative requirements and the need to have staff devoting time to the essential managerial tasks which led to improved organisational arrangements and increased opportunities for educational work, but which in themselves did not generate income. The point was put succinctly in 'The Highway' in August, 1920:

> "... all organisations dependent upon voluntary financial support are suffering in the same way as the W.E.A. The W.E.A., however, is in a peculiarly difficult position. Many people and many Trust Funds are willing to grant money for actual educational facilities, but are unwilling or unable to subscribe towards the expense of the organisation and administration, without which the former cannot be provided."[1]

There is no doubt that this was a clear reference to the restrictions which the Cassel Trust placed on its grants in support of the work of the Association, and which had led to some of the difficulties faced by the District in the work being done by Miss Green in the Kettering area in 1919-20. It was a difficulty which the District was to encounter on subsequent occasions in its relationships with Local Education Authorities, notably Bedfordshire and Cambridgeshire,[2] and without exception through grant-aid limitations under the Board of Education Regulations. Until the late nineteen-thirties it was a requirement

1. Ibid. p.199
2. Chapter 5, .

that the organisational and administrative work had to be financed by the W.E.A. From about 1937 funds became available for the payment for administrative duties, largely through arrangements with L.E.A.s, to recognise the administrative responsibilities of the W.E.A. in the organisation of courses.

The circularity of the financial dilemma which faced both the national Association and the District in this period was not resolved until the introduction of the Adult Education Regulations in 1924. Before their introduction, the position in the District inevitably deteriorated. The economic position in the country led to a decline in individual membership and the Board's restriction on grant-aid from 1922 onwards led effectively to a deceleration in the growth of the national Association's activities. From 1922 to 1923, the national membership total showed a net decline of some 1350, a pattern reflected in the District from a membership of 1704 in 1922 to 1220 in 1923. The reduction of as many as 484, or almost 30%, in membership was a serious loss not only to educational activity but also had implications for an already serious financial position.[1]

In fact, the loss was of greater significance financially than educationally. Enrolments in tutorial classes in 1922-23 declined by a mere 33 in the District and those for one-year classes increased by 77 leading to a net increase in the number of students in classes of 44 on the 1922 total of 958, and for the first time the District class membership exceeded 1000 enrolments. The general educational position in the District thus was encouraging and contrasted sharply

1. National statistics are taken from the W.E.A. Annual Report 1922-23 District statistics have been aggregated from several sources including the District's Annual Report 1922-23.

with the decline in the national position in 1922-23.[1]

By 1923 the District was only too well aware of the paradox of its educational success and the decline in individual membership with its consequential and debilitating decline in income in an existing position of acute deficit.

This rapid decline in individual membership in 1923 was probably mainly attributable to the pressures which the District was forced to impose on its Branches and subscribers from the beginning of 1922. The financial appeal of November, 1921 produced little by way of additional income and the matter was the subject of another lengthy discussion at the District Council meeting at Emmanuel College on 14 January, 1922. It was clear from the meeting that generally Branches were not capable of generating new income at the level required. For example, Ipswich one of the largest and most successful of District Branches, was already committed to raising money to meet a deficit on the two tutorial classes organised the previous academic year, and Bedford, without surplus funds of its own, had arranged a public lecture by Lord Haldane in an attempt to raise funds for the District appeal. Cambridge made a special appeal to members, and a few other Branches reported whist drives and concerts as events for fund-raising, but no one appeared to be optimistic about over-coming the deficit. One positive decision did emerge however in that Pateman's services as Joint Secretary to the Cambridge University Tutorial Classes Committee had

1. W.E.A. Annual Report 1922-23 shows a decline in enrolments in Tutorial and one-year classes from 23,673 (1922) to 22,748 (1923). Tutorial class enrolments increased by 300, but those in one-year classes fell by 1,000 or so even though there were twenty three more Branches in 1923 and eleven more Tutorial Classes to establish a new total of 363.
2. These three Branches were the only ones to attempt seriously to raise additional funds during the crisis, although Ipswich became less keen, possibly because of Hutley's influence and withdrawal as District Chairman.

hitherto been given freely. It was agreed that the Syndicate be approached to provide a grant to the District towards Pateman's salary in return for his work for the Joint Committee in organising Tutorial Classes and also for his services at the University's Summer School.[1]

By April, the financial crisis had deepened at national level and on the 28th of that month, the Central W.E.A. Executive Council met to consider its own financial position - a meeting reported by Pateman as having lasted almost six hours.[2] From the draconian measures about to be introduced at national level it finally became clear to the District that its dependence on the national Association for much of its finance was at an end.[3]

The repercussions for the District as a result of economies by the national Association were that, while not expected to make any contribution to central funds, it would receive a much reduced grant in aid which would be fixed at the beginning of each financial year and then not later exceeded. For that year the sum was £70, to which might

1. Minute Book No. 1. The question of a contribution towards Pateman's salary was sympathetically received by the University Syndicate and when the Board of Extra-Mural Studies was established in 1924 an honorarium of £150 was provided.
2. Minute Book No. 1. BHC. Minutes of the District Executive 29 April, 1922. Salter and Pateman had attended the national Association's Executive Council meeting at which the W.E.A.'s deficit on the financial year 1922-23 was stated at an estimated £1,000 and some sections of the national organisation were to be reduced immediately through reducing services and staff to find the £1,000, and to require Districts to produce a sum in aggregate of not less than £450 for the 1923-24 financial year.
3. Although the Eastern District was absolved from any responsibility to assist the national Association financially, it was demonstrably clear that only small sums would in future be available from the national W.E.A. to assist all Districts. These would be budgeted on a basis of what was available at the beginning of the financial year simply to avoid the open-ended nature of deficit budgeting which had been the traditional practice by the national Association and which had undoubtedly led to an unacceptable level of demand for funds from several Districts.

be added a further £50 since the Association had also decided to transfer all individual subscriptions to the national Association to the appropriate District, which would then be responsible for securing annual renewals. Finally, the national Association fixed a new level of contributory fees and levies for members of Branches, and for Branches and Districts. Branches were to contribute for every member one shilling to District funds and sixpence to the national funds. To achieve this increase it was recommended that Branches should fix their annual membership subscription for individuals at a minimum of half a crown. Under these arrangements the District's income from Branches, hitherto woefully inadequate, was likely to show a substantial increase, but had little real effect as membership was relatively numerically small, probably below 60% of the student enrolments.

The District's estimate of need under the new arrangements was for a further income of £200 in addition to an assumed continuation of the existing level of income, and some reduction in expenditure in the District office on administrative work and travel. The almost unthinkable question was now raised again but this time in that publicly, the question of the possibility of the termination of Pateman's appointment was raised throughout the District by a further circular letter sent to all Branch Secretaries for discussion with members.[1]

Three options were presented to the District in this circular:

> firstly, to accept the national recommendations for increased Branch contributions to District and National funds of 1/- and 6d. per member respectively. A further effort would be required by Branches to secure the sum of £200 for the District if the services of the District Secretary were to be retained on the existing basis.

1. Minute Book No. 1. The circular was distributed in early May, 1922.

> Secondly, to adopt the national recommendations in respect of the level of contributions to District and National funds, and to raise sufficient, but unspecified, additional funds to retain the services of a District Secretary on a half-time basis.
>
> Thirdly, to limit the level of contribution to the recommendations of the national Association and dispense with the services of a salaried District Secretary, and re-organise the work of the District to enable it to continue through a District Council and an Honorary Secretary.

It was thought that every Branch Council should reach a clear decision on the options and then seek the opinion of Branch members through holding a general meeting on the matter. The District Executive required answers by early June, and if either of the first two options were selected, some estimate of the sum each Branch could offer to raise towards the £200 required should be forwarded to the District.

In June, only eight replies were received from Branches, out of a total of 25 Branches and Centres in the District. Only two Branches were not clearly in favour of the first of the three options. The other six pressed for the adoption of the new levels of contributions and the retention of the services of a full-time salaried District Secretary. Since the eight Branches represented more than 50% of the total District membership, it was agreed unanimously to adopt the first option as a basis for future policy.[1] Nevertheless, the promises to raise the

1. The 8 Branches responding to the circular were: Bedford, Cambridge Ipswich, Kettering, Norwich, Peterborough, Stowmarket and Woodbridge. The last two Branches were those which were hesitant about the adoption of the first, most expensive, option and were notable both for the recency of their formation and also that from their activities they were more interested in the courses and facilities available under the District organisation rather than commitment to a social Movement. The other six were older, more committed to a Branch organisation which provided a variety of social and non-academic activities such as social evenings, involvement in local political activities, summer rambles and attendance at summer schools at Cambridge and elsewhere, all of which contributed much to a sense of unity and social cohesion.

additional £200 required to ensure that the policy could be effective were somewhat disappointing in that only £80 appeared to be firmly guaranteed; yet again the District was committed on a basis of optimism rather than certainty.

By May, 1923, once more the promised funds had failed to materialise; the deficit was some £150 and the services of Pateman were again placed in jeopardy. There was some small measure of relief for Pateman in that during the 1922-23 academic year, he was a student at Trinity College, Cambridge, having been awarded the first James Stuart Exhibition established to enable a W.E.A. student to spend a year in residential study at the College. The District had been very pleased to approve the release of Pateman, after the difficulties over his security and tenure of office as District Secretary in the previous year. The arrangements were that, although a student at Trinity College, he would during full term provide 24 hours a week on District work and resume his full-time duties during vacations. The Exhibition carried a scholarship of £50 which the District undoubtedly saw as one way of supplementing a salary which was almost constantly in arrears and in recognition of the fact that he had accepted in 1922 a notional reduction in salary by agreeing to forego the national salary scale of £310 with incremental improvements and to remain on his existing salary of £295. The national Association was nevertheless surprised that the District, in view of its financial difficulties, had not reduced the existing salary when Pateman entered Trinity College in October, 1922.[1]

1. Pateman studied social history and economics at Trinity College and played an active and full part in the Cambridge University Union Society. He was a member of the Union's Library Committee, and spoke in several Debates at the Union in both years in residence, usually third or fourth speaker on educational and social issues. He attracted favourable comment and attention of other members such as R.A. Butler and D.R. Hardman.

The District was particularly displeased with the failure of the national Association to recognise the efforts being made to become financially self-sufficient and to taper more gradually its reduction in grant to District funds. Mactavish was told in forthright terms of the displeasure when he attended the annual meeting in June, 1923. Salter stressed that in the past five years the contributions from Branches to District funds had risen from £10 to £114, but during the same period the financial support from the Association had declined from some £350 a year to a mere £71. Had there been a balancing of income between both sources of revenue, it was probable that the existing District crisis might have been averted.

Because of the continuing crisis it was agreed that if the possibility of a second year at Trinity College were offered to him, Pateman should be encouraged to continue his studies. To the evident relief of the District Council at least, Pateman was able to continue at Trinity College for a further year, 1923-24. During both years Pateman experienced difficulties over his salary, which was constantly in partial arrears. He sought and gained assurances from the District Executive Committee who acknowledged the unsatisfactory financial position which led by June, 1924 to his salary being some £45 in arrears. This was the situation despite the District having earlier negotiated an overdraft of £100; withdrawn virtually all monies from the Development Fund and conducted a continuous appeal campaign to enable it to continue to function. The critical position continued with little relief throughout most of the decade, and will be considered further in later chapters.

As already mentioned, the problems were caused fundamentally by a failure, or refusal, to proceed on the basis of an agreed financial

budget and to accept the restrictions on expenditure which such a procedure would have imposed. The attitude of the District during this period and for at least another decade was laudable in that every demand for educational courses and classes had to be satisfied provided that the student body proved to be a substantive group and that a tutor could be engaged to conduct the course. It was, of course, an unrealistic attitude for a voluntary organisation operating under the adverse economic circumstances prevailing throughout the nineteen-twenties and under Board of Education Regulations which were inappropriate for non-vocational educational activities organised on relatively small group bases.[1] Further, although a few Local Education Authorities, particularly Norfolk, were generously assisting the work of the District, the financial support provided was inadequate to meet the expenses which were incurred. Some of the antipathy was partly attributable to an unease about the motives and purpose of W.E.A. classes as noted in the 1919 Final Report on Adult Education, but also to the general opinion that the District's low scale of charges to students in its courses was unrealistic and should be increased in order to meet expenses, which might then be assisted from public funds available through municipal and county Authorities.

Educational Activity in the District: A General Review

As has already been considered, even before Pateman's appointment on a full-time salaried appointment in September, 1917, expansion in educational provision was already under way, largely due to the efforts of the District Chairman, S.J. Hutley, and Miss Dorothy Jones who administered the District from the national Association's London office as one of her many duties. At the end of the 1918-19 session,

1. See Chapter 4, passim for consideration of the existing Regulations

individual membership of Branches exceeded 1,200 and a further four new Branches had been established at Cambridge, Stowmarket, Woodbridge and Castle Hedingham bringing the District total to 15. Castle Hedingham, in North Essex, was significant in that it was the first "village" Branch to be formed in the District; but although apparently well founded with 40 members, it never organised a class and disbanded within a year.

The growth during the period was encouraging both for its quantitative increase and the stability of sustained development. In 1919-20 the total number of Branches rose to eighteen in 1920-21 to twenty-two with a reduction to twenty in the following year, a position sustained until 1924. Of these Branches, eleven had established themselves on a continuative self-sustaining basis. Other new centres were established and a few existed only temporarily as the enthusiasm first waxed strongly then waned during the difficult years following the war, a testing time for newly formed Branches in the depressing national economic conditions.[1]

There was also a corresponding increase in the number of tutorial

1. The eleven well established Branches were: Bedford, Cambridge, Halstead, Hitchen, Ipswich, Kettering, Luton, Norwich, Stowmarket, Wellingborough and Woodbridge. Not all these Branches were 'old' in the sense that they had necessarily existed for several years, but they were characterised by good, sound organisation, responsible and conscientious officers, constitutions approved by the District from 1916 onwards, and a continuous record of educational activity reflected in the number and variety of courses provided.
   The new Branches of recent origin and experiencing some difficulty through inexperience or uncertainty of purpose were: Bourne, Corby, Northampton, Peterborough, Raunds, Rothwell, Spalding, St. Albans and Wells-next-Sea.
   Branches which 'failed' during the period were: Braintree, Castle Hedingham and Chelmsford. Lincoln and Louth Branches were transferred to the East Midlands District in June, 1921.

and other classes. For Tutorial Classes, the record was initially impressive. During the war, these Classes had disappeared under the Cambridge Joint Committee arrangements, but the Oxford University Delegacy had managed to maintain two Classes conducted by Miss Stocks at Kettering and Lincoln. By the 1923-24 session, the final year for which the Cambridge University Syndicate was responsible, eight Tutorial classes were arranged by the Joint Committee and the Oxford Delegacy continued with one, at Kettering.[1]

The activities of the well-established Kettering Branch have already been mentioned in connection with the launching of the Cassel Trust scheme which enabled Miss Green to become the first tutor-organiser in the District. In other respects it was also a notable in that it organised Tutorial Classes under both University Joint Committees. In 1923-23, the Oxford Delegacy arranged a women's Class in Ancient History and in 1923-24, the Cambridge Syndicate provided a Class in English Literature. This Branch continued joint provision of classes under both Universities until 1931 when the Cambridge University Board of Extra Mural Studies assumed responsibility for all tutorial classes in the District.

During the war the activities of Branches were heavily circumscribed by prevailing local conditions, principally those of the loss of men to the armed forces, the continuous over-time working of those not enlisted and the massive increase in the employment of women on war-contracts in factories in the industrial areas. Where it proved possible to arrange

1. See Chapter 5, p. 352. As a result of the recommendations of the Report of the Royal Commission on the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, 1922, the Syndicate was succeeded by the University Board of Extra Mural Studies in Michaelmas Term, 1924.

liberal adult education activities under these difficult conditions it was frequently through the provision of short lecture courses and serial public lectures on a topic basis rather than on continuous related themes. In some Branches such as Bedford and Ipswich the attendance (at these lectures) was remarkably good and the atmosphere redolent of earlier university extension short courses except that the subjects of the war-time lectures were topical, political and sociological, rather than traditional. The other kinds of Branch activity which helped to maintain both the fabric of the organisation and the educational momentum were in the arrangement of reading circles and study groups, many of them apparently deliberately intended to pursue liberal adult education for its own value rather than linked to contemporary issues.

The effect of the improvisation and attraction of the practicability of the short programme of talks rather than the uncertainty of commitment to the demanding three-year requirement of the Tutorial Class regime led to a rapid increase in the growth of shorter course and study circles in Branches. A new membership, mainly women, was attracted to W.E.A. courses, and its appeal made more attractive to many for whom the tutorial class and its pledged commitment had been too demanding both in physical and intellectual terms.

The developments in the Eastern District in the period following the war for classes and courses, and clearly indicating the remarkable growth in the newer types of educational activity at the Branches are summarised in Table 2.

In addition to providing details of the activities at Branches and centres through the District for the six years covered in this

Table 2 - District Branches/Centres 1918-24

Tutorial Classes, One Year courses and Study Circles

Branch/Centre	1918-19	1919-20	1920-21	1921-22	1922-23	1923-24
Bedford						
Tutorial	-	1	1	1		
One Year and Study Circles	3	-	1	1	2	
Bourne						
Tutorial: Nil						
One Year and Study Circles	-	-	-	1	2	1
Braintree						
Tutorial: Nil						
One Year and Study Circles	1					
Cambridge						
Tutorial					1	1
One Year and Study Circles	2	3	7	5	5	5
Chelmsford						
Tutorial: Nil						
One Year and Study Circles	1	1				
Corby						
Tutorial: Nil						
One Year and Study Circles				1	2	3
Desborough						
Tutorial: Nil						
One Year and Study Circles						2
East Dereham						
Tutorial				1	1	1
One Year and Study Circles			1			
Halstead						
Tutorial			1	1	1	
One Year and Study Circles	1	1				1
Hitchin						
Tutorial: Nil						
One Year and Study Circles	2	1	4	1		
Holt						
Tutorial: Nil						
One Year and Study Circles					1	

Table 2 cont.

Branch/Centre	1918-19	1919-20	1920-21	1921-22	1922-23	1923-24
Ipwich						
Tutorial		2	2	2		
One Year and Study Circles	4	3	4	4	4	4
Kettering						
Tutorial	1	1	2	2	2	2
One Year and Study Circles	6	10	9	8	8	6
Fakenham						
Tutorial: Nil						
One Year and Study Circles			1	1		
King's Lynn						
Tutorial: Nil						
One Year and Study Circles			1	1	1	
Letchworth						
Tutorial: Nil						
One Year and Study Circles		1	1			
Lincoln						
Tutorial	1	1	2			
One Year and Study Circles	5	4	3			
Louth						
Tutorial: Nil						
One Year and Study Circles			1			
Luton						
Tutorial: Nil						
One Year and Study Circles			1	1	2	1
Melton Constable						
Tutorial: Nil						
One Year and Study Circles			1	1	1	1
Northampton						
Tutorial					1	2
One Year and Study Circles		1				
Norwich						
Tutorial				1	1	1
One Year and Study Circles	1	2	1			

Table 2 cont.

Branch/Centre	1918-19	1919-20	1920-21	1921-22	1922-23	1923-24
Peterborough						
Tutorial: Nil						
One Year and Study Circles			2	4	2	3
Raunds						
Tutorial			1	1	1	1
One Year and Study Circles						
Rothwell						
Tutorial: Nil						
One Year and Study Circles		1		1		
Rawreth						
Tutorial: Nil						
One Year and Study Circles		1				
Saffron Walden						
Tutorial: Nil						
One Year and Study Circles	1					
Spalding						
Tutorial: Nil						
One Year and Study Circles				1	1	2
St. Albans						
Tutorial: Nil						
One Year and Study Circles		1	2	2	3	4
Stowmarket						
Tutorial: Nil						
One Year and Study Circles				1		
Thorpe Malsor						
Tutorial: Nil						
One Year and Study Circles				1	1	
Wellingborough						
Tutorial: Nil						
One Year and Study Circles	1		1	1		
Wells						
Tutorial				1	1	1
One Year and Study Circles			1			

Table 2 cont.

Branch/Centre	1918-19	1919-20	1920-21	1921-22	1922-23	1923-24
Woodbridge						
Tutorial: Nil						
One Year and Study Circles		3		1		
Wymondham						
Tutorial: Nil						
One Year and Study Circles				1	1	1
Totals: Tutorial	2	5	9	10	9	9
One Year and Study Circles	27	33	42	38	36	34

chapter, the table illustrates the new trend in the nature of the educational provision. The trend was recognised for grant-aid under the Adult Education Regulations introduced in 1924, and criticised in the Adult Education Committee's Report, 1927.

As mentioned earlier, there was a growth of a more varied provision of educational opportunity largely, it is believed for this District at least, as a result of the exceptionally difficult conditions during the war and in the year following the armistice. The pre-war and early-war pattern in the District was entirely dependent on those customs, patterns, regulations and provisions which had followed from the successful pioneering effort in Reading, Rochdale and Longton.[1] Branches were formed for the purpose of providing local organisation and momentum to sustain three-year Tutorial Classes and other courses as well as to generate a wider sense of commitment to a social movement working towards an educated democracy. Frequently, but not invariably, Branches arranged short courses of public lectures or study circles in preparation for tutorial class work: later a pattern of one year preparatory courses directly linked to the subject of the three year tutorial class became a common feature at some Branches.

The demands of the Tutorial Class were acknowledged as severe and the national Association resisted any attempts to dilute either the effort required on the part of student or tutor, particularly after the publication of the Hobhouse and Headlam Report, or to consider that this part of the Association's activity would ever lead to a mass adult education Movement.[2] Mansbridge never considered such a possibility: the aim was that the classes should be the university extra-mural

1. Chapter 1, pp.58-62
2. Ibid p. 59 and Chapter 4, pp.251-252.

equivalent to honours degree standard for the most able but educationally under-privileged working class adult. /Although He rebutted the extreme criticisms of opponents such as the Plebs that the W.E.A. was a mere tool of patronised intellectualism creating an elitist group of able, working class students who were inevitably absorbed into a bourgeois, capitalist society and lost to their own class there was some substance in the charge. In some respects this had happened to Mansbridge and of the fourteen inspirational cameos which he considered as the greatest influences in his life, beyond his immediate family, only two originated from backgrounds similar to his own.[1]

However, during the war and in the immediate post-war period the interest in short, less demanding courses of study gradually increased, for reasons already mentioned, and the nature of contemporary problems - political, historic, economic, social - related to the war and its causes and post-war solutions all powerfully stimulated interest in cognate subjects and a demand for classes and courses. The new District organisation was in a position through Pateman to provide information on syllabuses, topics and tutors available to enquiring groups and to use the initial interest, if it had not already been suggested by the District, to consider the formation of a Branch or 'group' to provide a rudimentary local organisation as a nucleus around which a Branch might grow. The objective gradually became the formation of Branches as centres of social as well as educational activities and which no longer existed principally for the promotion of the Tutorial Class programme.

The Tutorial Class continued to represent the peak of achievement

1. A. Mansbridge The Trodden Road op.cit. The two were Reuben George and Alfred Williams.

for a Branch, but it was becoming accepted that for some it would not be possible for them to consider Tutorial Classes for some time after their formation, since the Tutorial Class required both extraordinary dedication and capacity in the student. While there was a substantial demand for these classes there existed a much larger latent demand for serious study in relatively small classes over shorter periods of time, either twelve or twenty-four meetings, and without an absolute requirement for written work. The growth of this latter type of class was especially rapid following the introduction of the 1924 Adult Education Regulations but it is sometimes overlooked that many existed some years before the Regulations were introduced but had not been eligible in many cases for grant-aid because they could not be recognised under the existing Regulations. The result was that the District had subsidised most of these classes in a determined attempt to keep charges to students at the lowest possible level to encourage enrolments and provide opportunities for study on genuinely altruistic grounds.[1]

The increased range and new flexibility in the provision was valuable to the national Association and the District in that it encouraged a much wider section of the community to participate in its educational work than would have been possible solely through provision of Tutorial Classes. Further, the very reasons for enrolment in these less demanding classes, meant that there was a general lessening of a sense of gratitude on the part of the students than had been apparent in some of the earlier tutorial classes. Here, there were unmistakeable signs of patronage by the tutor and deference by the student.[2] The new

1. For example, in the 1922-23 session the Board of Education grant earned on one-year courses amounted to £170 but the expenditure incurred by the District in providing the courses was £265, a deficit of £100
2. Chapter 2, pp. 112-113 and 118.

type of courses provided the opportunity for different patterns of relationships of a less demanding, detached partnership between tutor and student.

There is a clear impression that the District tackled these new opportunities with vigour and confidence. These one-year courses provided a field of independent activity, untrammelled by university committees and regulations, and clearly recognisable as of a standard below that of university level. Here the W.E.A. found in the post-war period another new and major contribution to the growth of adult education: provision of liberal adult education for sections of the community not attracted solely on criteria of social class, occupational structure, or compensatory education. All criteria did, of course, operate, and very effectively in some Branches, but for the District the deliberate attempt to create as many Branches as possible throughout the District in the post-war period led to a rich variety of courses being offered and accepted where the support was likely to be found. There appears in the general activity of the District at this time little conscious development of a recognisably working class educational policy and, with the exceptions already mentioned, many of the classes attracted representative members of most of the local communities.[1]

For example, in 1918-19, the Bedford Branch arranged two classes: on European History and Public Speaking, a reading circle on Shakespeare

1. In Table No. 2 the summary shows the growth in one year courses. There was a decline in the Study Circle element in these figures which tended to attract people from the same social and occupational groups. Tutorial Classes 1923-24 arranged under Cambridge University Joint Committee (source: Tutorial Classes Committee Report 1923-24, p.13) Occupations of Members of all classes: total classes 13; in District area 9.

Footnote 1 cont.

Teachers	54	Ministers of Religion	4
Clerks, Telegraphists	46	Salesmen and Travellers	4
Women - Home duties	43	Shop Assistants	3
Boot and Shoe Trades	42	Printers	3
Railway Servants	15	Photographers	3
Modellers	12	Librarians	3
Engineers	10	Draughtsmen	2
Miners and Quarrymen	7	Haulage Contractors	2
Post Office Workers	6	Showroom Assistants	2
Carpenters and Woodturners	6	Welfare Superintendents	2
Insurance Agents	5	Painters	2
Patternmakers	5	Coach Builders	2
Tailors and Tailoresses	4	Mechanics	2

The Miscellaneous group of 28 other occupations represented included no one in the "labouring" category, but there were a landworker, drayman, and a warehouseman. Skilled artisans included a joiner, tool maker, saddler, harness maker, cabinet maker, miller, and policeman. 'Professional' people included a doctor, Jeweller, Chemist, Income Tax Inspector, Relieving Officer and a Poor Law Official.

Of the 310 members of these classes represented by their occupations, out of an original enrolment total of 320, some 230 attended classes in the District's area; of whom 127 were enrolled in four classes in Northamptonshire and represented 55% of the total Tutorial Class students in the District. This heavy concentration in the industrial triangle is reflected in the occupational representation where almost 20% were in the Boot and Shoe employment category.

The occupational categories of students in Tutorial Classes arranged by the Cambridge Joint Committee were similar to those in earlier reports. As in this example, the enrolments reflect a petty bourgeois pattern of lower middle class and skilled artisans similar in many ways to those attracted to Mechanics Institutes. The major differences in enrolments between both movements were the considerable degree of support given to the W.E.A. by teachers and housewives and the relatively few self-employed businessmen who attended W.E.A. classes.

and a one-day conference on the recently published Whitley Report and its likely effect on the industrial system.[1] Ipswich arranged a series of lectures on 'International Relations After the War', a class for Trade Union officers and three study circles in the same year. These examples illustrated the range both of interests within communities to which the W.E.A. as a Movement had some appeal and also specifically of the manner in which the District was attempting to meet local needs, which would have been difficult to satisfy in other ways, whilst at the same time expanding its influence as a voluntary educational Association.

The Role of the Local Education Authority

During the six years under review, there were few alternative sources of provision for adult education. The role of the L.E.A., although drawn with much greater clarity in the 1918 Education Act, was still fundamentally accepted as the one described in the 1919 Final Report on Adult Education in that its preoccupation was with the education of children and adolescents and with a minority group of adult students, virtually all of whom engaged in vocational further education.[2] The Report believed that these emphases had so pre-occupied the policy and the administration of L.E.A.s that they were unsuitable for the development of non-vocational education, which required the freedom of and initiative to be taken by, students alien to the centralised administrative tradition and practice of Local Authorities.

But perhaps of greater significance in their lack of potential for adult education development was the indictment of the Report of the general attitudes which existed among members of education committees:

1. Bedford W.E.A. Branch Record Book
2. The Final Report of the Adult Education Committee 1919 op.cit., pp.205-210

> "It is to be feared that there is still a number of education committees who are unable to understand a desire for education of no direct utilitarian value, unless it be for the purposes of personal accomplishment, and who suspect dark motives in the minds of those who desire such education. More especially is this so where the demand is for study of problems which are controversial. It is within our knowledge that there are even today town councillors to whom the term 'economics' is synonymous with 'socialism'. The majority of those who most desire to study do so probably because of the interest they have already taken in industrial or other public affairs. They include, for example, a large number of active trade unionists and local trade union officials. This is presumably the basis for the charge sometimes made by Local Authorities, and suggested even by some members of universities, that the classes 'encourage discontent and socialism'."[1]

There were exceptional Local Authorities, among whose important innovative activities were the London County Council's non-vocational evening-afternoon institutes established in 1913, but the vast majority provided evening schools exclusively for vocational instruction or in preparation for examinations directly related to occupational careers.

During the pre-war existence of the W.E.A., the service most commonly and willingly undertaken by Local Authorities was the indirect support given, especially to Tutorial Classe, either through grant aid or the provision of premises without charge for class meetings. According to the Final Report, 1919, financial assistance to tutorial class costs in England and Wales between 1908 and 1913 had amounted to almost one-sixth of the total expenditure on such classes.[2]

Many Local Authorities had during the previous thirty or so years provided some financial support for university extension courses, usually in the form of modest annual grants. Initially at least, a few Local Authorities had adopted a similar policy towards the W.E.A. recognising

1. Final Report of the Adult Education Committee, 1919, op.cit. pp.206-07
2. Ibid. p.209 the total amounted to an excess of £6,000

it as one of many voluntary bodies, and thus eligible for privileges accorded to all voluntary organisations viz. the provision of accommodation at no charge, or reduced rates, for classes arranged under the auspices of the voluntary body.[1]

In the Eastern District, other than those grants made by L.E.A.s which have been mentioned in the previous chapter, most Local Authorities provided accommodation for class meetings without charge by the end of the war. By 1922, Bedfordshire and Cambridgeshire, were grant-aiding one year classes arranged by the District and all L.E.A.s with tutorial classes arranged in their areas were making grants to the University Joint Committee. These were in addition to those received from the Board of Education under the regulations for Tutorial Classes.[2] Norfolk was the outstanding generous L.E.A. throughout the period, meeting all expenses in connection with both tutorial and other classes, and also made a small grant (about £10) for administrative work in connection with the scheme.

The attitude of the Norfolk Education Committee was amongst the most enlightened in that it recognised the social and personal needs in the fourth largest county in England for its largely agricultural and widely dispersed population. The "enjoyment of leisure time is too little provided for, and the Committee can, by its educational facilities, assist those organisations which are seeking to promote community life".[3] There was a fortunate conjunction in Norfolk at that

1. Ibid. p.209-210 Local Authorities mentioned in the Report as having supported university extension lectures were Staffordshire, Stoke-on-Trent, Kent.
2. For example in 1921-22, Bedfordshire made grants of £15 for a tutorial in Bedford and a further £15 for a one-year class in the town. Cambridgeshire made a grant of £30 - £10 for each of three one-year classes. Hertfordshire offered to pay a matching grant equal to the sum earned in Board of Education grant, up to a maximum level of £50 for the whole of the county
3. 'Prospecting in Broadland' Newlove's account of the first year's work in Norfolk printed in The Highway March, 1921.

time between a few members of the County Council, notably between Sam Peel (Quaker, magistrate and Vice-Chairman of the Education Committee, a widely respected county alderman in the county who lived in Wells) and Lamport Smith, who was Assistant Secretary to the Norfolk L.E.A. and a man very supportive of the work of the W.E.A. over a period of several years.

The rapport and trust which existed between the Authority and the District is exemplified by the relationship which was established almost immediately the Norfolk Scheme was launched in 1920 and the clear recognition of the L.E.A. of its role in the provision of adult education. By 1923, the respective roles of the L.E.A. and District were put succinctly in letters from Lamport Smith to both Newlove and Pateman.

In asking for consideration of a short course which was being arranged at Aylsham which might have been difficult to organise because of the General Election campaign in 1923, Lamport Smith stressed that he would accept the recommendation of Newlove and Pateman "to tell me exactly what you propose to do. Although the County Council is paymaster, the organisation really remains with Cambridge". On the same day he wrote to Pateman "I am sorry that you waited for a letter from me before dealing with Aylsham, I regard the question of organisation as entirely in your hands and all I can do is to advise as to places and as to financial possibilities."[1] In the event and on the advice of the local county councillor no attempt was made to arrange the Aylsham class until early in 1924.

1. Both letters were written on 26 November, 1923

Lamport Smith also made suggestions about the possibilities for new centres for classes and suggested avoiding these towns in which the Cambridge university extension movement was well-established viz. in Cromer, Sheringham (about which Peel also had clear unflattering views about the bourgeoisie element there, which would not support any W.E.A. initiative), Holt, Swaffham, Downham Market, Thetford and Hunstanton. However, he strongly favoured the continuation of W.E.A. classes at Melton Constable because "this is the only piece of industrialism in Norfolk and I think we should go on with the W.E.A. here as long as the Railway situation remains unchanged".[1] He also advised against a W.E.A. class being organised at the King's Lynn technical institute since it was already well established as an evening vocational class centre, and urged Pateman to consider classes for those in the peripheral areas of the town.

Some Local Authorities contributed specifically in support of class activity varying from as little as £10 for a Tutorial Class in Kettering to £30 for one in Ipswich. Others contributed nothing towards the costs of classes, other than Tutorial, and where these were provided the total responsibility for meeting the inevitable deficit then fell entirely on the District's slender funds. If the class failed to earn Board of Education grant the whole of the cost had to be borne by the District. There is a voluminous correspondence between Pateman and Branch and Class Secretaries of enquiry and answering about the types of courses which would qualify for recognition for grant aid under the Board's regulations; and an equally large and testier correspondence of cajolery, remonstrance and patient explanation over the importance of accurately maintained registers, returns, and class activities, and of

1. Letter of 24 March, 1924

their prompt and accurate completion so that the District would not lose its slender grant-aid through default. Partly to avoid errors of this kind and to encourage District cohesion, Pateman arranged weekend meetings for Branch secretaries in 1919 and 1920 to discuss Branch organisation and administration.

A very serious setback was caused in 1922 by the Board's intention to reduce expenditure on adult education as part of the national reduction of expenditure on education in the post-Geddes economic restrictions. The Board issued Circular 1259 in May, 1922, introducing a clear policy where by supporting grant-aid for adult education classes could be secured either from the L.E.A. or under the Board's regulations, but not as had hitherto become a common practice, from both sources. The intention was to phase-out the dual arrangements over a period of five years so that any grant aid provided by L.E.A.s would no longer be admissible for recognition as approved expenditure and thus would not attract a matching government grant: thus future L.E.A. grants would be entirely borne by the ratepayers. It appeared highly unlikely that L.E.A.s would continue to support either tutorial or other classes. As the Circular did not suggest that the Board's grant would be increased to compensate for the loss of financial support from the L.E.A.s the implications were clear: an effective and long term reduction was intended in the availability of the total of funds for adult education - a major policy decision had apparently been made by the Board of Education.

The national Association protested vigorously and the combined vituperation of Mansbridge, Tawney, Temple, Mactavish and others in influential positions led to the suspension of the Circular for the 1922-23 session and the substitution of a non-expansion budget for

adult education fixed at the 1921-22 level of expenditure. The threat of a severe reduction in classes had been forestalled and although no expansion was possible in the financial sense, less expensive activities and greater willingness on the part of tutors either to accept reduced fees or return monies received for travelling expenses enabled modest expansion to occur in the District, as summarised in Table No. 2.[1] New Tutorial Classes were possible, with the ending of the three-year study cycle at one Branch, by its replacement by a new three year class at another. Thus, when the Bedford and Ipswich classes in Economics, the Ipswich class in English Literature and the Kettering class in Industrial History all completed their courses in 1922, it was possible to replace them with classes at Cambridge (Economics), Northampton (Nineteenth Century Critics of Society) within the District and at two other centres under the auspices of the Cambridge Syndicate's Tutorial Classes Committee elsewhere.[2]

Further pressure from both the C.J.A.C. and the national Association, led, at least indirectly, to the Board's concession of a further 20% increase in the grant for the 1923-24 session above the maximum of the 1922-23 limit for tutorial and other classes organised by the W.E.A.[3] It was an almost complete victory for the national Association and undoubtedly influenced the decision taken by the first Labour Government in 1924 during its brief term in office to introduce the first set of regulations specifically designed to meet the needs of and to provide opportunities for the organisation and provision of adult education.[4]

1. The District introduced a pooling-scheme to enable the Board of Education grant of £98 for that year to be shared proportionately amongst its courses.
2. These were at Nuneaton and Rugby.
3. The Highway Vol XV. No. 9 September, 1923, p.139.
4. The Regulations are considered in detail in Chapter 4.

Although the grant position had been rescued for 1923, the Board of Education did not entirely capitulate and continued its vigilance over the degree of support it was prepared to approve. In March and May, 1923, there was some difficulty over recognising the financial support provided by the Norfolk L.E.A. for the Tutorial Classes at Wells and East Dereham. The question arose of the dual recognition of the grant which the Board was providing for Cambridge University Tutorial Classes Committee whilst simultaneously providing a grant of 50% under the Regulations for Technical Schools towards Norfolk's grant expenditure on these two classes.

In March, 1923, it was clear from the Board's letter that Norfolk's contribution of £120 to meet the costs of both Tutorial Classes was in excess of any other application for a contribution of the L.E.A. received by the Board, and in response they were likely to disallow any recognition for grant as the Board were paying directly to the University a grant for each class under the separate Regulations for University Tutorial Classes, averaging about £34 for each class.

The solution to the dilemma was a suggestion from the Board in May, 1923, to prevent the Norfolk scheme being handicapped by a reduction in the amount of grant-aid which could be earned. In this the Board approved, exceptionally, that if the L.E.A. would accept full financial responsibility for the tuto rial classes it would continue to grant-aid it at the rate of 50%. This led of course to the Board being able to reduce its grant-aid for Tutorial Classes in Norfolk. The L.E.A. accepted the modified scheme and the Board paid retrospectively grant-aid on the two tutorial classes for 1921-22 as well as for 1922-23

and 1923-24.[1]

The position can be summarised as follows:

Two Tutorial Classes in Norfolk under the University of Cambridge Joint Committee:

Income:

Norfolk L.E.A. grant to University of Cambridge for each class	£60
Average Board of Education grant to the University for each class	£34
	£94

Expenditure:

Payment to Newlove (Tutor for both classes)	£84
Expenses of Joint Committee for each class; organisation, printing	£10
	£94

Thus Norfolk were honouring the original agreement to meet the costs of all classes arranged under the Scheme.

Under the Board of Education suggestion, Norfolk L.E.A. would pay the £84 direct to Newlove and £10 to Cambridge University Joint Tutorial Classes Committee for administrative and organisational expenses for each class. The L.E.A. could recoup £47 as 50% grant-aid from the Board of Education and the Board would reduce its payments from £64 which it had paid hitherto made up of the 50% grant-aid on the £60 and the £34 grant to the University Joint Tutorial Classes Committee for each of the Norfolk Tutorial Classes.

In addition, of course, the L.E.A. accepted financial responsibility for the three one-year classes at Wymondham, Melton Constable and King's Lynn, including a £40 fee to Newlove for each class and which secured for

1. This procedure was possible under Article 6(a) of the Board's Regulations for University Tutorial Classes, 1913. This assumed that since the initiative came from the Board this arrangement was rarely used.

him an income of £288, a considerable advance on the original figure of £200 on his appointment in 1920-21.[1]

The ways in which Norfolk supported the development of adult education in the county indicate that the failure of many other local authorities to encourage and assist similar developments in their areas appears to have arisen from decisions about a commitment to adult education rather than any impediment in regulations governing Tutorial and other types of courses which were provided by the District throughout the region.

Sir B.S. Gott, Secretary to the Middlesex Education Committee, in 1924 emphasised the necessity of co-operation between Local Education Authorities and voluntary organisations. He saw that the work of the voluntary agencies for adult education, splendid and effective as it had been, could not

> "unsupported be powerful enough to overcome the financial and other difficulties that must be faced and conquered before voluntary work can be fitted into its proper place in the national educational system .... Possibly the fundamental obstacle is that of finance .... It is true that education authorities have other views of education besides those limited by financial considerations, but, however wide their vision, their resources are not illimitable, and in the expenditure of those resources, in the planning of the schemes, they have naturally, in the past, taken first thought for the things for which there was a real demand .... Hence their extra-school activities have been mainly concerned with evening classes where were taught commercial and technical subjects".[2]

In this respect, he was reflecting the views of the Final Report, 1919 about the willingness of L.E.A.s to provide commercial and technical

1. Lamport Smith in a letter to Pateman, 5 June, 1923, discussed the problem and the proposed solution.
2. Sir B.S. Gott in a paper read at a joint conference of Local Education Committees, Library Committees and the W.E.A., Oxford 14-15 July, 1924.

classes and their reluctance to provide liberal adult education, in which they had little or no experience. Although the L.E.A.s could provide a variety of assistance to the W.E.A. there was no statutory duty for the provision of adult education and although many suggestions were made for the establishment of joint committees between the W.E.A. and the L.E.A.s similar to those which had worked effectively between the Association and the Universities, few L.E.A.s took any initiative in the matter.[1]

In the Eastern District no such joint committees were established, and the nearest approximation to the model did not emerge until the early nineteen-thirties when the Board of Extra Mural Studies of Cambridge University created the Rural Areas Committee to consider the development of adult education in rural East Anglia and invited L.E.A. representatives to enter a co-operative relationship to promote its scheme.

However, with the publication of Circular 1355 in March, 1925, and the stated intention of the Board of Education to develop a policy of greater assistance to adult education through L.E.A.s the direct intervention and support of Local Authorities in adult education began to increase, and the policy encouraged by the Association of Education Committees in 1923 became effective.

The first national recognition of, and support for, the work of the W.E.A. from the Local Education Authorities came through the Association of Education Committees, which represented the body of

1. For example, Arthur Greenwood (Vice-President of the W.E.A.) made such a proposal in a paper to the W.E.A. Annual Convention at University College, Nottingham, 18 October, 1919.

County Education Committees in England and Wales and which was becoming increasingly influential in shaping attitudes and policies in education at local authority level. Following a deputation to the A.E.C. from the national W.E.A. in the summer of 1923, the Association of Education Committees at its meeting in September, 1923, commended the activities of the W.E.A. to member Authorities through a policy of active support and encouragement and gave its imprimatur through the following resolution:

> "This Executive Committee consider that the duties imposed upon Local Authorities in relation to adult Education can best be performed at the present time by assistance to and co-operation with voluntary organisations; that the Workers' Educational Association is a body whose record and aims are worthy of support; and that Local Authorities, so far as their means admit, might well co-operate with the W.E.A. as many of them are already doing by:-
>
> (a) Making grants to University Tutorial Classes within their area.
> (b) Assisting the provision of the W.E.A. of One Year Classes for working men and women.
> (c) Providing rooms and the use of equipment free of expenses for the activities of the W.E.A."

This was a considerable gain in the principle of L.E.A. support for the W.E.A. and undoubtedly helped to create conditions favourable for the extension of the District's activities with Local Authority assistance which began to increase from the mid-nineteen-twenties.[1]

Although beyond the detailed consideration of this study, even more important was the influence of the British Institute of Adult Education, founded by Mansbridge and Haldane in 1922 and which provided opportunities for Directors of Education and Council Members of L.E.A.s to meet regularly in discussion to consider specifically the growth and

1. For example, Pateman attended, by invitation, a meeting of the Bedfordshire Adult Education Sub-Committee in April, 1924 to advise on the possibilities of an extension of adult education provision in the county. A sum of £100 was made available to grant-aid classes, provide scholarships to Summer Schools and to assist in the formation of new Branches, in addition to those already existing in Bedford and Luton. Minute Book No. 1 17 May, 1924.

development of adult education.

By 1924, five L.E.A.s in the District with W.E.A. classes in their areas were providing use of accommodation without charge and between them gave a total of £115 in grants for 10 one-year courses in addition to other grants to which reference has already been made for tutorial classes arranged by the University's Joint Committee.[1] In addition, the Norfolk scheme was thriving, and Bedfordshire had taken the initiative with the District in wishing to consider an expanded scheme of provision in its rural areas. The interest and participation of these six L.E.A.s which began shortly after the war continued to grow slowly but steadily for the rest of the decade and provided major opportunities for development in the District albeit intermittently and subject to the vicissitudes of controls over public expenditure at Local Authority level. As has happened without exception from this period, when reductions in expenditure on education were required, it was the sector of liberal adult education which first suffered from policies of retrenchment.

District Development

The pre-occupation of the District's officers and the national Association with the severe financial crises was not directly reflected in the educational activity of the District which expanded almost in inverse ratio to the financial position, to which it was closely related and a causative factor.

By 1924, the number of Branches had stabilised at twenty, with a further five Centres at which classes were arranged but not established

1. The L.E.A.s were: Bedfordshire(£25), Cambridgeshire (£45), Essex (£10), Northamptonshire (£20) and Norwich (£15)

a Branch organisation with a constitution. The number of individual members had gradually fallen to 1,036 from a peak of just over 1,700 in 1922. In spite of a variety of difficulties: the General Election which disrupted some classes; a railway strike which prevented some tutors conducting their classes; the high level of unemployment and under-employment in the industrial towns; and the second year in which Pateman had been unable to traverse the District as fully as previously because of his studies at Trinity College, the District had maintained its eight tutorial classes, with two new preparatory tutorial classes arranged at Bedford and Halstead. Twenty-five one-year classes and 10 study circles had been provided during the session and over 1,000 students enrolled.

The nature of the activity was exemplified by two somewhat differently located and organised Branches. At a new Branch at Bourne, in South Lincolnshire, two one-year classes were arranged both taken by local tutors, while at Bedford, in addition to the new preparatory tutorial class, seven well attended public lectures had been arranged (including one addressed by Mansbridge) and a weekend school provided jointly with the Adult School Movement. Other new ventures included meetings about adult education courses in villages around Halstead, the work being undertaken by Branch members. Members of other Branches in the District attended short residential courses at Holybrook House, Reading, there to train as tutors for One-year classes under the tutelage of T.W. Price. Miss Green (Kettering and the District's tutor-organiser) and Mr. E.W. Smith (Ipswich) were both selected for the course. Mr. Smith was also selected to pursue the one-year training course at Fircroft College, Birmingham. Here he was joined by Mr. H.A.J. Martin of Luton. It was hoped that following training they

might be of service to the District as tutors and represent a tangible gain from the policy of enabling the Movement to select, train and employ former students.

The Kettering Scheme had now firmly established itself and the Cassel Trustees had renewed the grant for a further period. Miss Green's teaching programme now included one-year classes at Kettering and Desborough, a new class for some 20 women students from which four students attended the Newnham College Summer School for Working Women; and a class at Corby, the new iron and steel centre, where some difficulties had occurred through competing interests, but which survived as a foothold of W.E.A. activity in the town, and also through a fortnightly class in Economics which was taken by Mr. Wallis, a former member of the Kettering Tutorial Class in the subject a few years earlier. Wallis, a devoted W.E.A. member established a record of continuous attendance at Cambridge Summer Schools of over twenty years.

The Norfolk Scheme completed its fourth year of continuous and successful activity. The adult education programme appeared to be well established, especially at East Dereham, Wells and Melton Constable, the first two Branches having completed Tutorial Classes with a very satisfactory standard of work. The prospects were encouraging with the Norfolk L.E.A. again prepared to continue to accept full financial responsibility for the activities in these three centres and at King's Lynn and Wymondham.

The overall position of the eight Tutorial Classes in the District had been a source of considerable satisfaction to the Cambridge University Joint Committee because of the commendable standard of work achieved by all classes, and almost all had earned the maximum grant available under

the Board of Education regulations.[1] The first tutorial class in Cambridge had been launched in 1922, and had quickly established a reputation for the high quality of its work. The year was marred by the death on Everest of G.H. Leigh-Mallory who had been the tutor at Raunds and of the preparatory tutorial class at Halstead until well into the second term of the 1923-24 session. It was also to be the final session for the Local Examinations and Lectures Syndicate of the University, it being about to be replaced by the new University Board of Extra Mural Studies on 1st October, 1924.[2]

The Cambridge University Summer School, while continuing to be a relatively minor occasion among those organised by universities, began to expand during the period and became an important feature of the joint educational co-operation of the University and the District. Held each year at Cheshunt College from late July to late August, it attained a total of sixty students in attendance in 1924, of whom thirty-five came from Tutorial Classes held in the District attracted by the three subjects for study: Economics, English Literature and Psychology. Pateman was now established as the organiser of the summer school. He and his wife were in residence throughout the duration of each year's gathering. He also arranged for the students in Psychology to undertake practical work in the University Laboratory.

During the period the District was also relieved of responsibility for a considerable area in Lincolnshire, to which it had not been able to devote either energy or finance for development. Since it was predominantly a rural area, and difficult of access, the only ways in

1. Cambridge Syndicate Tutorial Classes Committee Report 1922-23
2. See Chapter 5, [illegible]

which Pateman had provided any assistance was through information, encouragement and suggestions about possible courses and tutors, almost certainly via Miss Stocks who had undertaken a Tutorial Class in the Branch in the County town. It is probable that it was through this channel that a second Branch was established at Louth early in 1920. In 1919, the East Midland District was created out of the original Midland District, with its centre at Nottingham, and Frank Salter appointed as District Secretary. Almost immediately there arose a demand for classes in northern Lincolnshire to be provided by the new District and Salter wrote to Pateman about the possibility of organising classes in a group of villages there.

The Eastern District encouraged Frank Salter to proceed and by June, 1920, were favourably disposed to the transfer of the whole of Lincolnshire to the new District, provided that the existing Branches at Lincoln and Louth accepted the proposal. A joint meeting of representatives of both Districts together with those of the two Branches met in Lincoln in December, 1920, and the transfer of Lincolnshire was effected from June, 1921.[1] As a result of the transfer, the northern boundary of the Eastern District was re-defined as being from the mouth of the Welland westwards to Witham at the junction of the county boundaries of Rutland, Leicestershire and Lincolnshire.[2]

In celebration of the twenty-first anniversary of the founding of the W.E.A., arrangements were made for a national gathering at Oxford in July, 1924, where, although not involved in its conception, the

1. District Council Meeting 8 January, 1921 Minute Book No. 1. The meeting was also attended by Peers who had been recently appointed as Head of the Department of Adult Education at University College, Nottingham - the first Department to be established following the 1919 Report.
2. See Map

Association had been cradled and nurtured through its early formative years. On a much smaller scale, the "Coming of Age" of the Association was also celebrated at Cambridge in August, 1924, a few weeks after the Oxford occasion. As Mansbridge was then in the U.S.A., Mrs. Mansbridge substituted for him; Cranage, R.St.John Parry, Reuben George all spoke about the work of the Association, and the developments in the District to the 250 guests who arrived from all parts of the District and assembled in the Fellows Garden at Trinity College.[1]

In the first twenty-one years of the Association's existence, the District had contributed to its development for just over one half of that period but the possibility must have occurred to several who were present at the Celebrations at Trinity College in August, 1924, that the District might not survive in its existing form to celebrate the W.E.A.'s silver jubilee.

1. A souvenir of the occasion was printed and sold to members of the District to mark the occasion. Of the 1,000 printed, it is doubtful if more than 500 were sold as they were priced at 1/- a copy, and the District again incurred a further deficit on the printing costs.

Chapter 4

The Board of Education: Notes on Policy and Regulations

The regulations Board of Education exerted a powerful influence on the nature and extent of the provision of liberal adult education throughout the period under consideration. A clear demarcation between the providing agencies was a product of the first set of Adult Education Regulations in the mid-nineteen-twenties. The influence of the policies, the ways in which they were interpreted and implemented, together with opportunities which were encouraged, or stifled, by the regulations were to contribute fundamentally to the shaping of roles of the major providers during the formative years of liberal adult education in this century and a pattern emerged which has persisted in the continuing responsibilities and emphases of the universities and the W.E.A.

The relationships and co-operation which developed between the universities, the W.E.A. and the L.E.A.s during the period up to 1940 were not only products of tradition, attitude and predilection, important though all of these influences were, but arose in direct ways from successive Regulations issued by the Board of Education with the intention of stimulating, under control, liberal adult education through attempts to clarify responsibilities and roles of the major providers.

This chapter is intended to provide a retrospective and prospective consideration of these influences and, where appropriate, attempts to show causal or progressive effects of the Board's Regulations. Those specifically introduced to facilitate the development of adult education

-1913, 1924, 1932- are examined in some detail and provide the reasons for the positioning of this chapter.

The Regulations undoubtedly stimulated a considerable growth in the provision of courses, especially those provided by the W.E.A. either in conjunction with universities through the Tutorial Classes Committees or independently, after 1924, by the constituent Districts. They also beneficially and clearly distinguished their respective roles and opportunities under which grant aid was available to voluntary bodies and universities, although from 1932 onwards the blurring of the earlier distinction led to difficulties in relationships between the W.E.A. and some universities in which Cambridge appears to have played a major initiating role. Accordingly, the Eastern District provides much interesting detailed information on the changes in relationship which will require more detailed research on the activities of the Board of Extra Mural Studies before an objectively balanced and entirely accurate, as well as complete, study can be made. Somewhat surprisingly, Welch hardly refers to the evolution of the Board's policy in connection with its provision under the Regulations of 1924 and omits any consideration of the 1932 Regulations and their major significance for the distribution of courses, academic level of work, and staffing establishment of the Cambridge Board.[1]

Other than Raybould's careful analysis of the grants policy of the Board of Education, there appears to be little published on the effects of the successive Regulations issued by the Board during the inter-war period.[2] This chapter is an attempt to indicate the importance

1. E. Welch op.cit. pp.150-152
2. S.G. Raybould The English Universities and Adult Education The Workers' Educational Association, 1951.

of the Regulations for the Eastern District, and by implication and extrapolation for the national Association, not only in an expanded provision of courses, but also, and more importantly, for the ways in which they reflected, or moulded general attitudes towards attempts made by the District in its growth as a voluntary providing body for adult education co-existing and co-operating with the University's Board of Extra Mural Studies.

Regulations for Technical Schools etc.[1]

Before the introduction of specific regulations for adult education, a limited measure of financial assistance for adult education was available under the Technical Instruction Act of 1889. The stimulation of technical education was among the responsibilities given to the recently established county and borough councils and assisted in the following year when the Local Taxation Act allowed local authorities to apply some of national annual income of about £750,000 to a variety of purposes of which developments under the 1889 Act were one. This was the celebrated 'whiskey money' and a small proportion of the income was used to support university extension courses.

As Mackinder and Sadler explained at the time, the definition of technical instruction under the Act of 1889 was peculiar in that included under the term was "instruction in the branches of Science and art ... and any other form of instruction (including modern languages and commercial subjects and agricultural subjects) which may, for the time being, be sanctioned by the Department by a minute laid before Parliament."[2] The effect on the provision of university extension

1. The full title was "Regulations for Technical Schools, Schools of Art and Other Forms of Provision of Further Education"
2. H.J. McKinder and M.E. Sadler 'University Extension: Past, Present and Future, Cassel 1891, p.

courses was, briefly considerable and a variety of courses, especially in Science, increased. In 1892-93 one half of the 100 university extension courses under the auspices of the Cambridge University Syndicate were in science subjects, a proportion considerably in excess of those of earlier or later years,[1] possibly as a result of the Cockerton judgment in 1899 which, although primarily of major historical significance in asserting the illegality of financing higher grade schools out of School Board rates raised for the purposes of elementary education, also ruled that instruction of any kind provided for adults could not come from the same source.[2]

However, 'whiskey money' continued to provide a source of finance for classes under the 1889 Act and the provision under the Evening School Code of 1893, together with those under Technical Education Committees of County Council and County Borough authorities led to a significantly large measure of provision of technical and commercial courses for adults in search of vocational skills and qualifications. Lowndes estimated that a sixfold increase in enrolments at such courses occurred between 1892 and 1900, with over 270,000 people involved in 'night school' activities in 1895 when the popularity of the courses was increased by the withdrawal of the annual examination of students in 1893.[3] Thus, it is clear that the final decade of the nineteenth century was a period of rapid growth in vocational classes for adults, assisted by revenue somewhat fortuitously available under the Local Taxation Act, 1890, which enabled the new Local Authorities to begin a tradition of, and develop attitudes towards, a particular range of adult education activities in which the incidence of liberal adult

1. Welch op.cit. Table 6, p.189 indicates the subject groupings of Cambridge Syndicate courses.
2. Ibid. By 1903 the Cambridge courses in science had declined to 21% of the courses provided.
3. Lowndes op.cit. pp.39-41 provides details of this growth,

education courses was virtually non-existent, since these were, and had been since 1873, the preserve of the university extension movement and largely outside assistance from public funds.

The Education Act, 1902, had important indirect effects on adult education. The new L.E.A.s re-organised the provision of evening schools and the new Regulations which followed the Act grouped subjects together in the development of courses of a broadly commercial or technical nature. But apart from the Morant modification to assist the new Tutorial Classes in 1908, the L.E.A.s generally had failed to encourage "an adequate volume of non-vocational work".[1] The Act, in establishing a public administration system through the role and responsibilities of L.E.A.s for education thus introduced a statutory body at local level which was both empowered and capable of providing financial assistance for liberal adult education, if it so wished; powers which were to be extended under the provisions of the Education Act, 1918

Under Chapter 2 of the Regulations for Technical Schools, grants were available under Articles 27 and 32 for courses at Evening Schools or similar schools and classes provided they did not extent beyond one year of at least 20 hours of instruction and were included in one of several categories of subjects, called Divisions in the Regulations; principally Literary and Commercial, Art, Science and Technology, Home Occupations and Industries, and Music. Within these Divisions, grants were available on a per capita student-formula for every 20 hours of complete instruction.

1. Board of Education Adult Education Committee 'Adult Education and the Local Education Authority' Paper No. 11 H.M.S.O. 1933, p.11

From time to time, the rates of grant were increased and in 1913 Regulations for University Tutorial Classes were introduced with the specific intention of assisting this type of adult education course which had not fitted adequately within the original set of Regulations, introduced for entirely different purposes. Eventually, these new Regulations were incorporated into the Regulations for Technical Schools and other liberal adult education classes which had been accommodated within the existing regulations gradually emerged as a distinct group and given special treatment.[1]

Under the Regulations for Technical Schools, the first Tutorial Classes at Longton and Rochdale were grant-aided in 1907-08 with the requirement added to the Regulations that for such classes the standard of work should correspond with that of a university degree in Honours. This appears to be first official reference to the benchmark of University standard for Tutorial Classes and probably led to an attempt to assess to extent to which this standard was realistic and being achieved in Tutorial Classes through the tour of inspection undertaken by Hobhouse and Headlam in 1909-10 which resulted in their much-quoted Report on tutorial class work in 1910.[2] This commendatory Report undoubtedly led to the Board's decision to issue the special Regulations for University Tutorial Classes in 1913.

1. Board of Education Regulations (Cmnd. 6866) Regulations for University Tutorial Classes. H.M.S.O. 1913. The Regulations were effective as from 1st August, 1913. The Regulations for Technical Schools were amended gradually to accommodate the special needs of other classes as in, for example, August, 1919 when Article 32(d) was amended by adding: 'In the case of advanced instruction for adults in subjects of general as distinct from vocational education, the rate may be further increase up to 10s.' (Statutory Rules and Orders 1919 No.928 Technical Schools . (Amending Regulation, 1919)
2. Board of Education Special Reports No. 2. "Special Report on Certain Tutorial Classes in Connection with The Workers' Educational Association". Inspectors: J.W. Headlam, H.M.I. and Prof. L.T. Hobhouse. H.M.S.O. 1910.

The position over university extension classes was more difficult than for University Tutorial Classes. The extension movement pre-dated the Technical Instruction Act of 1889 by some fifteen years during which its distinctive pattern, character and methods were established. These were generally not amenable to matching the requirements of the Regulations for Technical Schools. As a result, and apart from the flurry of attempts to provide science courses under the Regulations in the early 1890's, already mentioned, the large majority of university extension courses were either ineligible for grant-aid under the Regulations or recognition was not sought by local extension societies. In the absence of financial support from public funds, the costs of these courses continued to be met from enrolment fees and subscriptions, and thus the courses continued to follow the traditional pattern of short duration with large audiences, with only a minority of students, a practice not common everywhere, involved in small classes of serious study following each lecture session. Experimental variations in courses of serious study were tried to stimulate interest in sustained study for small groups of students.[1] Some succeeded but others failed at least partly as a result of the problem of inadequate finance prior to 1902.[2] Further, the traditional pattern of university extension course was specifically excluded from the Regulations for Technical Schools for purposes of grant-aid.[3] Even

1. The Report 'Oxford and Working Class Education', 1908, examines the deficiencies and difficulties in financing university extension courses in Chapter III, pp.32-40.
2. D.H.S. Cranage in the 'The W.E.A. Education Year Book, 1918' p.291.
3. Article 21(b) 'Mere attendance at a course of lectures unaccompanied by class exercises will not, as a rule, be regarded as constituting satisfactory instruction. University Extension Courses will only be recognised provided that each meeting is registered as a single period of instruction, and that at least half of each meeting other than the first is devoted to class exercises'. Board of Education Regulations for Technical Schools, 1918. H.M.S.O. p.5. This regulation also applied to W.E.A. classes which were in the category of the first part of the Article.

when the first set of Adult Education Regulations was introduced in 1924, the only university extension classes eligible for grant were those which included a 'class' and the large audience element was excluded from recognition for grant purposes.[1] It was not until the 1938 Adult Education Regulations that the university extension class in its traditional form became eligible for grant-aid as a result of a major change in the policy of the Board of Education.[2]

However, following the Education Act of 1902, there was limited assistance for university extension courses and Welch indicates that Cranage, the Secretary of the Cambridge University Syndicate, was alert to the possibilities of some measure of grant-aid under the new responsibilities of Local Authorities for education and a few Cambridge University Extension Societies applied for and received Board of Education grants.[3] By 1915, some Local Authorities were providing financial assistance to Cambridge university extension courses and three Centres also applied for Board of Education grants under the Regulations for Technical Schools. But this assistance was very small both in the size of the grant and in the extent it was sought, and in 1921, the Cambridge University Syndicate estimated that its income from Board of Education grants for courses was a mere £37, with £923 received in grants from Local Authorities out of a total expenditure on courses in excess of £5,000 i.e. income from grants was less than 20% of committed expenditure.[4]

Regulations for University Tutorial Classes, 1913

Following the initial and successful experience of the Longton and

1. See p. 263.
2. See p. 313.
3. Welch op.cit. p.106. None of Centres mentioned was in the Eastern District.
4. Ibid p.150.

Rochdale Classes, the Regulations for Technical Schools were modified in 1908 in recognition of the value of Tutorial Classes.[1] As already noted this appears to be the first official reference to the Board's required standard which had to "correspond with that required for University Degrees in Honours" and the grant available was at the highest rate of 10s. per student in 1907-08 and increased to 17s. in 1909. The per capita grant aid, based on attendance continued until, after prolonged negotiations with the Central Joint Advisory Council, the 1913 Regulations for University Tutorial Classes were introduced and later incorporated into the Regulations for Technical Schools.

Under the 1913 Regulations the per capita grant formula was replaced by a block grant of £30 per academic session for each class, or one half the tutor's fee if less, a recommendation made in the 1908 Oxford Report although the figure then proposed had been for a tutor's fee of £40 per class per academic session. Reports[2] on the Longton class (with 38 students) and the Rochdale class (40 students) suggested that the enrolments were too high to sustain the recommended tutorial relationship and this problem was partially resolved in the 1913 Regulations when the permitted maximum was restricted to 32 students and subsequently reduced in the 1924 Regulations to a maximum of 24 students.

1. Regulations for Technical Schools etc. 1908 (Cmnd. 4187) H.M.S.O. The Prefatory Memorandum gives the conditions for the modification: 'By an alteration in Division 1(b)(ii) of Section 32 the Board have recognised that organised work of a very high standard of advancement is now being attempted in sections of Evening education eligible for grants under this Division, other than the commercial courses to which the highest rate of grant has hitherto been restricted. The Board have, however, indicated by the condition that the standard of the work must correspond with that required for University Degrees in Honours, that it is only in the very highest type of classwork that there will be any likelihood of a grant being allowed at a rate in excess of that previously payable.'
2. These were included in the Oxford Report, 1908, pp.104-108.

The Tutorial Course was also officially defined for the first time as one consisting of not less than three years' duration for a minimum of 24 weeks each year; the meetings were to occupy at least two hours of which at least one half being devoted to class work.[1] Regularity of attendance required to earn full grant was set at 66% of the students, or 12 in all, whichever was the higher during the first year, with a relaxation of the attendance in the second and third years set at nine and six students respectively.[2] All students were expected to undertake written work as required by the tutor and which usually, although not specified in the Regulations, was at fortnightly intervals.[3]

There was a problem over written work which appears to have been overlooked by some authors on the early history of the W.E.A. Under the 1908 Regulations for Technical Schools when university tutorial classes were initially recognised, the phrase "if the course actually carried out by the students is of a standard corresponding with that required for an Honours degree" is of uncertain provenance. None of the contemporary, or subsequent studies, appears to have unearthed the precise reasons for placing the standard at such a high albeit flexible level.

Clearly the alliance between Oxford University and the infant W.E.A.,

1. Regulations for University Tutorial Classes, 1913 (Cmnd. 6866) H.M.S.O. Article 2.
2. Ibid Article 5(a)
3. The Board neither specified the quantity nor periodicity of written work apparently taking the view that this was a matter for University Joint Committees for Tutorial Classes. At Oxford, presumably using its experience in university extension classes, the Joint Committee specified a total of 12 essays per academic session and other universities followed this practice although at Cambridge at least it does not appear to have been a requirement since reports by tutors on Tutorial Classes under the Syndicate, and later, the Joint Committee reflect the difficulties experienced by some students in producing written work with frequency or of the required standard.

the involvement and enthusiasm of Oxford, and other, academics may have led to the impression that this should be the standard of work if there was to be a genuine measure of opportunity for able but otherwise debarred working people to benefit from studies provided through University teaching. Certainly the impression given by the Oxford Report of 1908 suggests that nothing less than the highest standards and opportunity to attain them was an inalienable right of under-privileged but able adults, a principle eloquently and passionately demanded by Mactavish at the 1907 Oxford Conference. The Oxford Report in the following year endorsed and fostered the principle without hesitation or qualification and it is possible that in discussion of the tutorial role of the university tutor working extra-murally in classes, the expected standard became encapsulated in the requirement that he should "act as far as possible, the part of an Oxford tutor who is dealing with honour students in such a subject as History of Philosophy."[1] Equally significantly, the Report clearly believed "the whole plan of these tutorial classes rests on the assumption that the teaching shall be of a University level, and we therefore think it important that the teacher should be brought regularly into contact with the critical atmosphere of Oxford", and he should be of intra-mural status.[2]

As the senior officials of the administrative class of the Board of Education were almost entirely Oxbridge men, it is probable that their personal experience and knowledge of an honours degree course enabled them to recognise a familiar landmark in the unprecedented development of the tutorial class movement and provide a criterion on which the Regulations could be framed in relation to the level of work

1. 'Oxford and Working Class Education' op.cit. p.64
2. Ibid p.78

in courses which would extend over a planned three-year programme of study.

Yet the Report believed that of those even fewer students in tutorial classes who might enter Oxford University to pursue their studies on a full time basis following completion of a three year course and rigorous selection, most would do so in the sphere of Political Science and "that the majority of working class students will naturally read for a diploma rather than for a degree".[1] One of the reasons for this generalisation was the difficulty in meeting the academic entrance requirements of the university. Another was the financial problem of meeting the costs of residence in an Oxford College, but there was no demand in the Report to modify, exceptionally, the admission requirements for undergraduates who might be both few in number and conspicuously adult members of the University.

The Headlam and Hobhouse Report on Tutorial Classes, 1910, aligned itself firmly with the recommendation of the 1908 Oxford Report on the appropriateness of a diploma rather than a full degree course as the academic objective of post-tutorial class students.

> "The best third-year students would, we think be quite in a position to read for the Oxford Diploma in Economics, and would, probably, after a year's full work obtain it without difficulty. Here and there, work of a still higher standard is to be found."[2]

It is possible that this report was influenced by the recommendations of the earlier one and that the problems of admission and finance weighed heavily against consideration of the possibilities of adults undertaking a full undergraduate course leading to an Honours degree. But the last sentence in the Headlam and Hobhouse quotation does suggest there were a

1. Ibid p.78
2. Board of Education Special Reports No. 2, 1910 op.cit.

few students capable of work of that standard and perhaps more strenuous effort might have been made to establish the principle of their admission to universities for this purpose - as emerged in the 1920's - if there had been a conviction about the level at which university tutorial classes were conducted. If, however, the authors of the Oxford Report genuinely believed that the standards of the Longton and Rochdale Tutorial Classes were at Diploma rather than Honours Degree level, then it would appear the Board of Education Regulations in 1908 and subsequent years were pitched at an unrealistic level and it is curious that they continued with only marginal modification until replaced by the Further Education Regulations in 1946. Further, if the Headlam and Hobhouse Report, commendatory as its general tone was over the achievements of the students in the fourteen classes which were inspected, appeared to confirm that the most able students would, if given the opportunity, comfortably obtain the Oxford Diploma in Economics after a further year's study then it seems reasonable to assume that the others would not easily obtain the Diploma, which was of a recognisably lower standard than an honours degree. A further problem with the standard set by the Board of Education was that the then new University Tutorial Classes were uniquely different from any other course available for recognition under the Technical School Regulations and thus there were no compelling reasons to distinguish so markedly between tutorial classes and other classes; the nearest in terms of recognition for payment of grant being the Science and Art courses largely organised by L.E.A.'s and not by university or the voluntary bodies. There appears to have been no rational or logical imperative to have established an honours degree standard for tutorial classes, at least not to satisfy criteria of the Board for recognition for grant-aid purposes.

It is almost certain that the reasons for the setting of the standards for university tutorial classes arose from the discussions earlier than, and during, the Oxford Conference and reflected the ambitions of Mansbridge and the group of Oxford academics who supported him, and provided an aim for the genuine partnership of the alliance between labour and learning on a basis of equality. Kelly suggests that the idea of university honours standard was fully accepted by Mansbridge and other university men associated with the development.[1] In an article as early as 1905, Mansbridge had argued that the W.E.A. would have failed in its purpose unless "intensive class teaching up to University standards is developed", but there was no reference to the performance of students.[2] However, this was not a claim for honours degree standards and as the Final Report of the Adult Education Committee in 1919 penetratingly observed

> "... since the standards of work done in a university ranging from that of the passman to that of the scholar, are so various as to make such a phrase almost meaningless - to what kind of academic standard does the work done in university tutorial classes approximate, we think that a formal comparison is less likely to be illuminating than an account of the manner in which the classes are at present conducted."[3]

Mansbridge had not claimed in his early years that the standard should be that of honours and was anything but sanguine about the outcome of the Headlam Hobhouse inspection before their report was published. He confided in a letter to Zimmern: "My heart is in my mouth. If they (Headlam and Hobhouse) report adversely, Tutorial Classes on the present plan are at an end. If they report well- I hardly dare imagine the

1. T. Kelly Outside the Walls Manchester University Press 1950, pp.59-61 He cites the views of Professor Chapman in 1911 who insisted that tutorial classes had to be 'genuine university classes', involving considerable strain on students, at a W.E.A. meeting in Manchester in 1911.
2. A. Mansbridge in University Review August, 1905
3. Page 63

prospect."[1]

Significantly, the Headlam and Hobhouse Report in 1910, distinguished between the method of university teaching and its standards, a distinction also made by the Final Report of the Adult Education Committee in 1919, in an effort to consider the interpretation of the Board's 1908 Regulations.

Hobhouse and Headlam assumed

> "that University teaching is teaching suited to adults; that it is scientific, detached and impartial in character, that it aims not so much at filling the mind of the student with facts and theories as at calling forth his own individuality and stimulating him to mental effort; that it accustoms him to the critical study of the leading authorities, with perhaps occasional references to first-hand sources of information, and that it implants in his mind a standard of thoroughness, and gives him a sense of the difficulty as well as of the value of truth .... He becomes accustomed to distinguish issues, and to look at separate questions each on its own merits and without an eye to their bearing on some cherished theory .... He becomes able to examine a suggested idea, and to see what becomes of it, before accepting it or rejecting it. Finally, without necessarily becoming an original student, he gains an insight into the conditions under which original research is carried on. He is able to weigh evidence, to follow and criticise argument, and put his own value on authorities."[2]

This put the case for the methods of university teaching succinctly, fully and within the context of the early university tutorial classes and the work of tutors extremely well: the purpose of the classes was described precisely and probably reflected the aims and methods of the tutors whom they saw taking classes.

1. Mansbridge in a letter to Zimmern, November, 1909. The author is indebted to Professor Bernard Jennings for this reference and for permission to peruse sections of his manuscript yet to be published on Albert Mansbridge, which might shed further light on the issue of 'university standards'; its origins and implications for the development and conduct of tutorial classes.
2. Board of Education Special Reports No. 2 op.cit.

The more difficult area of university standards raised problems for Headlam and Hobhouse which they proceeded to resolve with equal clarity:

> "Such a course (i.e. a university course) of education involves long and severe mental discipline, and moreover, implies previous training and previous general education of a relatively wide range. Admission to membership of a university is in fact made conditional on the production of evidence of such preparation. In the classes which we have inspected, this preliminary education is for the most part very inadequate, and the courses themselves, while extending over three years, have to be adapted to the conditions of a workman's life, and can therefore utilise only the leisure time of hard-worked men. The three years' course of continuous study is in itself an entirely new experience to the great majority of those who attend the classes.
>
> These circumstances affect the amount and character of the work achieved. In point of fact, to compare the work actually done in these classes with that of an Oxford or Cambridge undergraduate is a method of doubtful value. The conditions differ, and the product is in some respects better and in others not so good. There is more maturity of mind and more grip of reality behind many of these papers. There is as a rule, naturally, less of the qualities arising out of a general literary education. If, however, the question be put whether, so far as they go, and within the limits of time and available energy the classes are conducted in the spirit which we have described, and tend to accustom the student to the ideal of work familiar at a University, we can answer with an unhesitating affirmative; and, in particular, the treatment both of History and Economics is scientific and detached in character. As regards the standard reached, there are students whose essays compare favourably with the best academic work."[1]

This extended quotation from the Headlam and Hobhouse Report of 1910 illustrates the difficulty of attempting to define absolute standards and the humanity and sensitivity with which both men approached their commission from the Board. Here there is the clear understanding not merely of the intention behind the three year courses but also an empathetic insight into the circumstances and difficulties with which the majority of students had to contend, a matter completely overlooked by the 1913 Regulations. Within the inter-relationship between the

1. Ibid

objectives of the tutorial class movement and the backgrounds of many of the students, Headlam and Hobhouse caught the spirit of endeavour and approach to advanced studies which many records left by both tutors and students eloquently testify. Unfortunately, the Board's Regulations appeared not to make the crucial distinction between the methods of tutorial classes and realistic levels of attainment. The failure to do so led to much controversy and confusion over the purpose and intention of tutorial class work in later years and which were considered in some detail by Raybould when the matter was again raised as a major issue in the immediate post-war period after 1945.[1]

Mansbridge writing in 1913, apparently subscribed to the idea of university standards in tutorial classes without reservation:

> "Each course of study must aim at reaching the standard of University honours work in the subject taken, and the reports made upon the classes reveal abundantly that they succeed."[2]

This was a clear exaggeration of much of the experience, but selectively he was probably thinking of the opinion of A.L. Smith, Master of Balliol College, Oxford, whom he quoted later in the same publication that

> "twenty five percent of the essays examined by him after the second year's work in two classes, and the first year's work in six classes, were equal to the work done by students who gained first classes in the Final Schools of Modern History. He was astonished, not so much at the quality as at the quantity of the quality of the work done."[3]

While this might have been true for A.L. Smith, it was an experience not shared by tutors conducting the Cambridge University Syndicate's Tutorial Classes. It organised its first classes in 1909,

1. S.G. Raybould University Standards in W.E.A. Work 1948, passim
2. A. Mansbridge University Tutorial Classes Longmans Green 1913, p.5 Although undated, it is believed that Smith's remarks were made in 1912.
3. Ibid p.178.

and of the classes within the Eastern District, the quality of the written work in the Wellingborough class, conducted by A.J. Wyatt, and to which reference has been made earlier, experienced a variety of difficulties which might have been foreseen in essays written by students.[1] His colleague F.R. Salter also experienced similar difficulties in his Norwich class in the 1912-13 session:

> "The inequality of the class was most evident in the essay work, which was very uneven both in quantity and quality. One or two members of the class produced really admirable results, long and thorough, and often shewing a considerable amount of knowledge and insight. On the other hand it was only with the greatest difficulty that some members could be induced to write at all, such form of work being evidently quite novel to them; in such cases the mere production of anything written was in itself a creditable achievement. In one or two cases, no amount of persuasion could overcome the demon of shyness, but it is to be hoped that here also adventurousness may come in time."[2]

Similar difficulties were encountered by W.G. Constable in his first year Tutorial Class in Ipswich on Economic History in the 1912-13 session.

> "The least satisfactory part of the work of the class has been the writing of essays. Most of the students found this a severe task, owing to their being quite unpractised in expressing themselves on paper, and to having no clear idea how to set about an essay. But though only the comparatively small number of 43 essays was written by the class, this number represents a great deal of hard work. To help the students in essay-writing, the lecturer sketched two or three essays on the blackboard, making use of suggestions and criticisms by the class. The lecturer has also attended the meeting place of the class before the time of meeting to give students individual tuition in the subject of the lectures and in essay-writing. Unfortunately, only a limited number of students have been able to avail themselves of this help .... The essay work at the end of the term showed marked improvement and there is every indication that this improvement will be maintained."[3]

1. See Chapter 2, p. 112.
2. University of Cambridge Tutorial Classes Committee Report for the 1912-13 session, p.12
3. Ibid p.14

Some years later the position appears not to have changed much, and D.H. Robertson on a second year Tutorial Class in Economics at Bedford wrote:

> "The outlines of economic theory were studied in the first part of the year, and the structure of modern industry in the second. The great disparity in gifts and previous knowledge between individuals rendered the former subject in particular a little difficult to handle, but a good proportion of the students appear to have acquired a grip on the essentials of economic reasoning.
>
> The volume of work was very satisfactory in the end, though many writers (often no doubt unavoidably) showed a tendency to postpone their essay-writing till the subjects set had been lectured upon and discussed in class, which prevented their getting full value out of the written work."[1]

The final sentence is, perhaps, more revealing about the capacity of the tutor than his students.

Other tutors were more encouraging about written work.[2] At Ipswich, a second year class in Literature produced "a great improvement in the number and quality of essays." The qualifying number, out of 20 enrolled students, was increased from four to six essays and ten students reached the figure in a class dominated by teachers. At Raunds, where a first year Tutorial Class on Literature began in 1921-22, the written work was "on the whole, conscientiously performed and several of the teachers wrote very satisfactory essays." At Kettering, a first year Tutorial Class in Psychology, the "number of essays written was not large, but some were of remarkable quality ... the written work done by the class was good."

Thus, it appears that while the methods of university teaching were appropriate for adult students, the officially prescribed standards

1. University of Cambridge Tutorial Classes Committee Report for the session 1920-21, p.5.
2. The reports on these classes are also taken from the 1920-21 Report of Cambridge Tutorial Classes Committee.

of attainment were achieved by relatively few students and the remarkable achievements of the Longton and Rochdale Classes were attributable partly to their exceptional students and partly to the commitment and skills of Tawney, acknowledge as a tutor of quite extraordinary quality.

At this distance in time, it seems astonishing that as a general principle, which is what the 1908 and 1913 Regulations sought to establish, adults who had left school at 11 or 12 years of age with minimal educational skills, working long hours with little time for study or reflection, often in poor housing conditions could be thought capable of academic achievements approximating to university standards: to add the additional requirement of honours standard appears both unrealistic and indeed incredible. With the increasing accessibility of secondary education through the selective 'scholarship' system which developed strongly in the 1920's and the following decade through which the most able pupils proceeded, and to which the development the W.E.A. as a social movement contributed significantly, the incidence of very able adults similar to those found in the pre-1914 tutorial classes might be presumed to have declined.[1] The general development of secondary education between the wars made even more doubtful the validity of the continuation of the Regulations that tutorial class work should continue to be defined as that of honours degree standard. Of particular interest is the concern of the Board's own Adult Education Committee in its Report in 1927 over the relative decline in the provision of Tutorial Classes in the rapid expansion in adult education provision which followed the introduction of the first set of Adult Education

1. Lowndes op.cit. Part II Chapter VI provides an excellent summary on the development of, and expanded opportunities for, secondary education during this period.

Regulations in 1924.[1] In 1924 the Board had marginally changed its attitude to the standard required in Tutorial Classes through a modification of the original requirement of the 1913 Regulations when it issued its Regulations in that year.[2]

The Adult Education Regulations, 1924

Following the recommendations of the Final Report, 1919, and powers included in the Education Act of 1921, the Board of Education issued these Regulations to provide a comprehensive policy framework for the development of adult education. References to these Regulations earlier in this study have indicated their considerable significance in facilitating the growth of liberal adult education in the university and voluntary sectors and the graphs (Appendices 4 and 5) give some indication of their importance to the Eastern District's provision. Taken in conjunction with the 1932 Regulations, the graphs clearly indicate the influence of the Board's Regulations on provision throughout the period under consideration. These two sets of Regulations established not merely the types of provision which the Board recognised for grant-aid purposes and which thus powerfully influenced the provision actually made, but also sharpened definitions of roles in the provision of specific types of courses which although originally of considerable value to both major providers later became the source of major contention,

1. Board of Education Adult Education Committee Paper No.9 'Pioneer Work and Other Developments in Adult Education' H.M.S.O. 1927
2. Under the Regulations for Adult Education, Board of Education Grant Regulations No.14, 1932, Article 14(a) which referred to University Tutorial Classes in Chapter II was modified as follows "... study under the methods and conditions proper to a Tutorial Class, and where the subject of the Course is such to make the standard of University work in Honours a possible aim, the Course must be planned to reach, within the limits of the subject, that standard." The original Regulations of 1913, Section 1(c) had required "The instruction must aim at reaching, within the limits of the subject covered, the standard of University work in Honours."

competition and dispute when the Board's policy stance changed in the 1932 Regulations; ostensibly over its concern for the development of adult education in rural areas.

The Regulations of 1924 did not affect the provision of the minor element of liberal adult education provided by Local Education Authorities (L.E.A.s) which continued under the existing Regulations for Technical Schools. The importance of the 1924 Regulations lay in the official recognition of a distinctive non-public sector provision of liberal adult education, of greater significance and extent than in the public sector, which became eligible for grant-aid on a major and permanent scale. The entire field of earlier endeavour by universities and major voluntary organisations was amalgamated under these Regulations following the recommendations of the Final Report, 1919, and papers produced by the Adult Education Committee established by the Board of Education in 1921 to advise on, and promote, the development of liberal adult education.[1]

Further, and of considerable importance to the universities and the W.E.A., the Regulations distinguished clearly between the type of provision thought appropriate to the work of universities and that of independent voluntary organisations, of which the W.E.A. was and continued

1. The Board's Adult Education Committee in 1921 was established with Temple as Chairman and among its original membership were Mansbridge, Tawney, St. John Parry and Yeaxlee who had been members of the Government Adult Education Committee which produced the 1919 Report. In addition, Mactavish was also a member of the new Committee as was A.L. Smith, Cranage, Pilkington-Turner all of whom were experienced in the field of university tutorial class work. Later, however, towards the end of the decade following the establishment of extra mural departments in universities, the balance within the committee appears to have moved in this direction, away from the W.E.A., and their influence is reflected in the Committee's Reports from 1927 onwards.

to be the most important in the field of liberal adult education.[1]

The Regulations were effective from 1st August, 1924, to ensure their application to the 1924-25 academic session. The desire to do so can be gauged from the unprecedented haste with which the Board acted: the printed draft of the Regulations was not circulated until the 27th of that month and the final version did not appear until January, 1925, more than half-way through the academic year in which they were introduced. As a result of this rushed activity there was only a slight increase in the level of class and course provision between the 1923-24 and 1924-25 sessions in the Eastern District.[2]

Under Section 118 of the Education Act, 1921, the Board of Education had powers to grant-aid university and national voluntary organisations providing liberal education for adults. These bodies, following recognition by the Board, were designated "Approved Associations". In the case of the W.E.A. as the provision was made at District level, these were recognised as "Responsible Bodies" by the Board of Education because they, as did the universities, organised, controlled and directed courses and classes in adult education. Responsible Bodies were thus accountable to the Board of Education for the observance of Regulations which included approval of both tutor and syllabuses for courses; the efficient conduct of the instruction and arrangements; and were required to submit annual financial statements to the Board. The grant-formula for financial aid to Responsible Bodies was based on

1. Kelly, 1970 op.cit. p.268 and Stocks op.cit. p.96 attribute the growth in adult education between the wars to the 1924 and 1932 Regulations, but, surprisingly, Welch op cit. does not accord the same recognition in the development of the University of Cambridge classes.
2. In 1923-24 there were 25 one year classes and in 1924-25 the combined total of one year and Terminal courses was 30.

75% of the fees paid to tutors under the appropriate category of courses and if the Regulations were fully observed. Thus, no grant-aid was available to the national Association for its administrative and organisational role, nor to the Districts for undertaking similar work in connection with the arrangements of programmes of courses and classes.[1]

The Regulations were presented in five Chapters, of which two are of particular significance to this study: Chapters II and III. Chapter II dealt with courses of extra-mural provision supervised or arranged by universities and university colleges. Chapter III referred to part-time courses organised and controlled by 'Approved Associations'.[2]

Chapter II Courses

These courses were those provided and supervised by universities which the Board was prepared to recognise for grant purposes. They were in three categories: Preparatory Tutorial; Three Year Tutorial and Advanced Tutorial Courses; Vacation Courses for Tutorial Classes; University Extension Courses.

The Regulations thus endorsed through absorption the practice introduced under the 1913 Regulations for Tutorial Classes and continued the grant-aid for these classes. For the three year Tutorial Classes,

1. Board of Education (Adult Education) Regulations Grant Regulations No. 33, 1924 H.M.S.O. January, 1925. Article No. 3 (a), (b), (c), (d).
2. By 1927, the 'Approved Associations' were listed as the W.E.A., the Educational Settlements Association, the National Industrial Alliance; the main bodies which had applied for recognition. Others such as the Adult School Movement did not seek recognition. In that year, i.e. the 1926-27 session, the W.E.A. provided 155 One Year and 308 Terminal Courses and the other Approved Associations together a mere 46 One Year and 26 Terminal Courses. Source: Board of Education Report for 1926-27. H.M.S.O.

there were few changes from the earlier regulations. The course had to extend over 24 weeks in each year; to occupy at least two hours a week with at least one half of the time available devoted to class work. The prescription on the standard of university work in Honours was continued as already considered earlier.[1] However, and as foreshadowed in the 1913 Regulations, the maximum permitted enrolment in Tutorial Classes was reduced from the former level of 32 to 24 students.[2] Experience had shown the original level was too high for the close tutorial supervision required and the Board made an explicit requirement of the tutor in reducing the maximum in these classes to 24 students.[3]

To qualify for full grant-aid, minimum standards of attendance were identical to those introduced in 1913 and it can be inferred that the close similarity between the 1913 and 1924 Regulations for Tutorial Classes reflected general satisfaction with the ways in which such classes were provided and conducted.

The 1924 Regulations introduced a new type of one year course; the Advanced Tutorial Class. Continuation of a Three Year Tutorial Class into a fourth year had been eligible for grant under a phrase in the 1913 Regulations. A class "in its third or any later year" had been recognised and had occurred as an occasional course of study at

1. In the 1924 Regulations the requirement was continued under Article 14(a).
2. Article 2(b) 1913 Regulations and Article 14(c) in the 1924 Regulations which also stated that only under exceptional circumstances would a maximum of 32 students be permitted. In the Board of Education Memorandum (T.698/209 June, 1925) circumstances were given under which the maximum enrolment of 24 might be increased to 32 students. Where there were more than 24 applicants for a class but insufficient to form a second class, the total enrolment could be increased to the upper limit.
3. Article 12(a) of the 1924 Regulations; in 1913 there was no reference to the role of the tutor.

a few Branches in the Eastern District.[1] Because of its more rigorous study, the Advanced Tutorial Class was recognised as a distinctive course to study for more advanced work following a three year tutorial course. Thus all such classes eligible for grant were to be continuative to Three Year Tutorial studies with enrolment and attendance requirements similar to those for the Tutorial Class except that assurances were required about the ability of those who enrolled, together with evidence of previous study at tutorial class level.[2] In the event, these courses never achieved the intended provision for more advanced study and the numbers, both nationally and in the Eastern District were small.

Chapter II was of major significance for its recognition of university extra-mural provision through university extension courses. For the first time after an existence of half a century the courses were recognised as an appropriate form of adult education and eligible for direct financial aid by the Board of Education. This innovation was to change the character of extension work and led to the development of a new range of policies and attitudes to adult education in the recently established Extra-mural Departments in universities in general, stimulated by the entrepreneurial comprehensive approach adopted by Professor Peers at Nottingham who acted as standard bearer of the development, and who appears to have influenced Hickson's attitude when he became Secretary for the Board of Extra Mural Studies at Cambridge in 1928. The Cambridge University Board of Extra Mural Studies succeeded the Local Examinations and Lectures Syndicate in October, 1924, following the recommendations of the Final Report, 1919, and more

1. Regulations for University Tutorial Classes, 1913, Article 5(a). In the Eastern District no such classes had been conducted since the end of the war.
2. Adult Education Regulations, 1924, Article 14(f) and 15(a).

immediately the recommendations of the Royal Commission on the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge which reported in 1922.[1]

The recognition of university extension courses was, however, a restricted one under the 1924 Regulations. The large audiences of the traditional type were not recognised as a factor in the calculation of grant-aid. There had to be a taught class element in such courses, on the basis of which the grant was calculated. Students were required to participate in both the lecture and a class period. Only those attending for the complete meeting and who undertook written work could be enrolled, and an upper limit of 32 students was placed on class registration. For these, the lecturer was held responsible for the direction of studies. No record of attendance was required of the others who attended only the lecture since the grant was a per capita one paid on the attendance of those who were on the class register. There was no recognition of those who attended the lecture only, which could have been a large number under the traditional practice of university extension courses and not uncommon in the well established Extension Centres.[2]

The intention appears to have been that some grant-aid should be made available in recognition of the university's provision of adult education courses but it was limited to the class element of the courses, presumably in recognition that the Regulations were framed within the policy objective of supporting serious sustained courses of study. The recognition of the lecture audience in addition to the study class was eventually included in the 1938 Adult Education Regulations.[3]

1. Consideration of these changes is provided in Chapter 5,
2. Adult Education Regulations, 1924, Article 17(a), (b), (c).
3. The 1938 Regulations are considered on p.313.

University Extension courses under the 1924 Regulations were required to extend over a minimum of 18 hours, and be of either 90 minutes or two hours' duration. In some centres, the arrangements were for 12 meetings at weekly or fortnightly intervals and became almost indistinguishable from Terminal Courses, in the case of the former, and One Year Courses for the latter, both of which were arranged under Chapter III of the Regulations and were limited to courses arranged by Approved Associations. However, to earn full grant (£45), university extension courses had to extend over 48 hours of instruction and other centres thus organised the courses over 24 meetings, of two hours' duration, and these became more directly the analogue of the One Year Chapter III courses, especially where, as happened in some small centres, the audience and the class comprised the entire enrolment.

In this way, the Board was at least able to offer some recognition of the provision made by universities and, within the traditional pattern of university extension courses, approve some financial support for their activities. Nevertheless, the intention was also clear that there had to be an element of systematic study, less demanding than in tutorial classes but more demanding than in the traditional, and much criticised, university extension courses. As the lecturer was required to be personally responsible for the direction of the studies of students enrolled in the class, which was not an explicit requirement in Chapter III One Year Courses, it seems reasonable to assume that the Board intended that the work should be within a framework of systematic study and be seen to be, and the standard of work would be, at a higher level - an important distinction which was also made in the level of study between Chapters II and III. Presumably, grant earned on the class element in university extension courses contributed to the overall costs of providing such courses and led to a reduction in student fees and

enabled courses to be mounted without the earlier necessity of attracting large audiences to meet the costs of courses.[1]

Nevertheless, the similarity between the new type of university extension course which was encouraged under the Regulations, and thus influenced the provision, and the One Year Course under the Chapter III regulations led in practice to both types becoming almost identical and to competitive overlap in provision between the universities and the W.E.A. In the Eastern District, the opportunities for this undesirable situation eventually led to contentious problems and dispute between the District and Board of Extra Mural Studies, particularly in those centres, and these were in the majority, where extension courses did not attract large audience who appeared for the lecture only. Raybould draws a close parallel in this development, citing the 1937-38 Board of Education Annual Report:

> "... there had developed under the title 'Extension Courses' a large number of courses for small groups of students indistinguishable, so far as numbers were concerned, from classes, and in effect a new type of class had come into being for which the conditions originally laid down for extension courses were not necessarily appropriate".[2]

Raybould's general survey of the development of a new form of extension course is reflected in the Eastern District where the audience and the class were identical, frequently only between 12 and 30 students and although the older type of university extension class continued to be provided on a much smaller scale by the Cambridge Board of Extra Mural Studies, the newer classes flourished in Bedfordshire and Northamptonshire

1. The maximum grant was available on a class of at least 12 enrolled students.
2. S.G. Raybould op.cit. 1951 Appendix No. 1 pp.98-99. Raybould throughout his comprehensive analysis of the Grant Regulations unfortunately refers inaccurately to the Chapters in the 1924 Regulations in arabic numerals whereas the Chapter headings are given throughout in roman numerals in the original Regulations.

from the early nineteen thirties when their attractiveness was increased following the appointment of university tutors for adult education under Article 11 of the 1932 Regulations.[1]

Eventually, the encroachment by the Cambridge University Extra Mural Board into what the Eastern District regarded as its exclusive preserve and courses under the Regulations led to the latter's opposition to the former's provision of Chapter III type courses, which was regarded as inappropriate to the level of work undertaken by universities. It is therefore reasonable to assume that the emphasis on the 'class' element of university extension courses led the universities to develop courses, especially in rural areas and suburbia where large audiences were unlikely to be found and yet be able to claim grant under the Regulations. The distinction between the intended standards of courses under Chapter II and Chapter III classes was thus, at least partially, discounted under the imperative of earning grant-aid. The distinction was further narrowed, especially in rural areas after 1931, when the 1932 Adult Education Regulations permitted the participation of universities in Chapter III work and aided these developments through the introduction of exclusive university appointments of tutors in rural areas under Article 11 of those Regulations. The position was exacerbated for the Eastern District when, under acute financial strain, it agreed to cede providing powers under Chapter III to the Cambridge University Extra Mural Board in Bedfordshire in 1930.[2]

Chapter III Courses

This section of the 1924 Regulations provided the W.E.A. with the

1. Ibid pp.78-79. Shearman following his appointment to the Extra Mural Board in Bedfordshire, Lee in Northamptonshire and Baker in Cambridgeshire arranged the newer university extension classes.
2. See Chapter 5

opportunity for expansion with financial support which the Association had sought for several years. In the Eastern District, the policy of continuous expansion in previously neglected areas became possible, at least in prospect, the grant income being considered as the key factor in overcoming earlier problems and frustrations. With the introduction of the Regulations the solution to the perennial financial problems which had limited growth in District activities appeared at hand.

The recognition of the work of 'Approved Associations' by the Board of Education was clearly drafted with the W.E.A. in mind, and the educational activities included in the Regulations reflected much of the earlier work of the W.E.A. - pioneered and developed on a largely voluntary, self-financing basis. The three types of courses were: One Year, Terminal, and Vacation.

The definition of 'Approved Association' appears to have been conceived with the W.E.A. structure as its model in that it "must be a national association or a district branch of a national association".[1] The Board had to be satisfied over the "fitness to be the Responsible Body for Courses under its control and direction". On recognition as a Responsible Body, the three types might be provided and grant in aid claimed subject to observance of the Regulations.

The Terminal Course was intended to assist in the provision of, if not promote, introductory courses in adult education on a wider scale. As such, the regulations required that these courses should have a minimum of twelve meetings during an academic year, each one being of 90 minutes duration; although full grant could be earned only if the total number

1. Adult Education Regulations 1924 Article 20.

of hours was of 24. Further the full grant of £8 for a course could be earned only if there was a minimum enrolment of 12 persons.[1] Although written work was not prescribed, it was to be encouraged. In the Eastern District, recognition of Terminal Courses provided a new source of income for an existing activity and encouraged the further development of pioneering and exploratory courses in new centres, and opportunities for creating nuclei of students who might be encouraged to undertake more rigorous study and, eventually, form W.E.A. Branches. Miss Green in the Kettering area and Shearman in Bedfordshire made much use of the new Terminal Courses in promoting educational activities in new centres, and testified to their success. Experience showed, however, that the meagre grant of £8 per course did little to reduce the problem of financial self-sufficiency within the District simply because the costs of mounting courses were greater than the combined grant and the low student fee income.

Although Terminal Courses were of considerable significance in the growth of the national Association and of Eastern District provision, of even greater importance were the One Year Courses. Although the Eastern District shared responsibility for Tutorial Classes with the Cambridge Extra Mural Board through the Joint Committee, it was autonomous in the organisation and provision of courses under Chapter III. One Year Courses represented the most important category of its independent provision, both in standard of study and in the quality of its part-time tutors. When, in later years, the University Extra Mural Board sought to provide similar courses under the Adult Education Regulations, the co-operative, consensual endeavour was seriously threatened and led to

1. The maximum grant, on application to the Board, could be increased to £12 per course if the instruction was considered to be of a higher standard. In practice, this usually referred to the qualifications of the tutor and Shearman, for example, was so regarded while Miss Green was not.

difficulties which persisted throughout several years in the nineteen thirties.[1]

The Regulations for One Year Courses were similar to those of the Preparatory Tutorial Class under Chapter II, possibly intentionally so to ensure a matching standard under Chapter III which might lead on to University Tutorial Classes, but it was recognised by the Regulations that the former were not necessarily precursor courses for the three year Tutorial Class as was the latter.[2] One Year Courses were organised on a module of at least 20 weeks, although full grant could only be secured if the course lasted 24 weeks, and the minimum duration was 90 minutes, with full grant available if the meetings lasted two hours. The meeting was divided equally between instruction and class work. As for Preparatory Tutorial Classes, the maximum possible enrolment was 32 and students were expected to undertake written work.[3] The qualifying regulations for the full grant were also similar to the Preparatory Tutorial Class in that 48 hours of instruction had to be provided for 12 students, or twi thirds of the total number on roll whichever was the higher proportion, to earn £36 for the course, £9 less than the grant available for the Preparatory Tutorial Class.[4]

Further, and as already noted, the conditions were similar in several respects to University Extension Courses, and here again the

1. See Chapters 7 and 8 , .
2. Adult Education Regulations 1924 Article 22(b)
3. Article 22(a) of the Regulations merely required that students should be"prepared to do written work". At a Board of Education conference with the W.E.A. in May, 1925, Joseph Owen, HM. I, suggested that three written papers from students might be a satisfactory minimum.
4. It is difficult to reconcile the Regulations governing the One Year Course under Chapter III with Peers claim that they were less exacting than those of similar courses under Chapter II. See Peers 1958 op.cit. p.95.

maximum grant earned was £9 less than the Chapter II course. However, the regulations governing the provision of One Year Courses, excepting those required to secure maximum grant aid, imposed greater demands on the Chapter III course. The One Year course consisted of 20 meetings and the Chapter II University Extension Course 18 class meetings, both being organised on a unit of 90 minutes per class meeting.

Summary

From the distinction made between the two broad categories of provision under Chapters II and III of the 1924 Adult Education Regulations, it seems reasonable to infer that the Board of Education sought to establish clear areas of responsibility between university and non-university sectors in the provision of courses for adults. Firstly, Chapter II courses were recognised as the legitimate province of universities and the courses aimed at a higher standard of work with consequently greater demands made on the adult student. Although attention has been drawn to similarities between regulations governing the provision of courses under both Chapters of the Regulations, the expectations were demonstrably different. The Preparatory Tutorial Classes, in spite of the parallels drawn in the Regulations to One Year Courses were intended to lead into three year Tutorial Classes, a practice not invariably followed in the Eastern District where some One Year Courses led naturally into Tutorial Classes.[1]

The three year Tutorial Class was acknowledged by the Board as the apex of liberal adult education courses, a tradition established from the outset of the co-operation between the University of Oxford and the W.E.A. The expectation that its standard should be "of University work

1. See Chapter 5. The courses provided by Miss Green in the Kettering District well illustrate the practice.

in Honours a possible aim" was re-affirmed though it was now a less explicit requirement than in 1913 and the reduction of the maximum number of students from 32 to 24 a recognition of the responsibilities of the tutor and the needs of the students.

The special recognition of the Advanced Tutorial Class as a one-year course of high standard again emphasised the Board of Education's desire to establish high standards of work and rigorous study, and re-inforced by the Board's requirements that the tutor should certify that the majority of students had already satisfactorily completed a three year Tutorial Class in the same or related study to that of the Advanced Tutorial Class.[1]

Further, and of particular significance in making the distinction between the standards in Chapters II and III courses, it was only in relation to the former that the Board of Education required evidence that the supply of books should be adequate, that arrangements made for tutorial guidance in reading required, and that demands should be made of students to submit written work.[2] As noted already, under Chapter III the only course with any of these conditions was that students enrolled in One Year Courses should be prepared to do written work.[3] There was no reference in Chapter III about guidance over reading or to the need for an adequate book-supply as part of the submission for the approval of courses.

For University Extension courses under Chapter II, and although the condition for approval of these courses appears to have been slightly

1. Adult Education Regulations 1924 op.cit. Article 15(a)
2. Adult Education Regulations 1924 Article 12(a)
3. Ibid Article 22(a)

less demanding than One Year Courses, some indication of an expectation of higher standards can be inferred from the requirement for the lecturer of an extension course to be "personally responsible for the direction of the studies of students on the role".[1] The implied distinction between the academic qualifications of lecturers was more apparent than real in the Eastern District. There appears to have been no difficulty in engaging tutors of university standard for Chapter III courses.

Some three years later, the Adult Education Committee of the Board of Education could claim with some confidence that

> "in general Universities have confined their attention to the higher grades of work. This policy appears to commend itself to the Board of Education since One Year and Terminal Courses are not mentioned in Chapter II ... and we understand that the concessions whereby two university colleges have been recognised as 'approved associations' has been granted for a limited period only".[2]

The Committee favoured the distinction between responsibilities under the two Chapters of the Regulations in that

> "Clearly a university must set some bounds to its range of activities. It is not possible to determine precisely at what point the practical interest of a university in adult education should stop. The line drawn by the Board of Education seems to us to be a good working arrangement and justifiable so far as the recognition of courses is concerned, but we hope that the influence of the university and the spirit and method of university teaching will extend into the less formal types of adult education".[3]

The Committee believed in and encouraged the idea that the influence of the university might be promoted through closer association

1. Ibid Article 17(a)
2. Board of Education Adult Education Committee Paper No.9 "Pioneer Work and Other Developments in Adult Education" H.M.S.O. 1927, p.76
3. Ibid p.76.

with voluntary bodies if Joint committees similar to those existing, and which had proved successful, for Tutorial Classes and of equal status were established for the other courses under Chapters II and III. The model already existed at Nottingham, but it was not widely adopted. More significantly, the idea was given unilateral interpretation by some universities, especially at Cambridge, as an invitation to breach the demarcation between the Chapters and provide courses within the Chapter III group. The new Universities Extra Mural Consultative Committee, established in 1926, pressed for a wider responsibility for the work of universities and apparently succeeded in persuading the Board of Education to agree as the separation in the courses provided under Chapters II and III were relaxed under the 1932 Regulations, with disturbing consequences for the W.E.A.[1]

The remaining category of courses to be considered under Chapter III is the Terminal Course. There were similarities between this type and some university extension courses under Chapter II, but for these full grant could not be earned. The Terminal Course was intended to offer studies at a significantly lower, introductory level. No conditions were prescribed for written work although it "should be encouraged" and no requirement was placed on the tutor to accept personal responsibility for the guidance of individual students.[2] It was the only course which could be completed within one academic term and earn full grant on completion of 24 hours of instruction over a minimum period of 12 weeks, an indication of the standard expected, and the objective of the course as an introductory one to further more sustained study.

The maximum grant available indicated an expectation of a relatively

1. See p. 297.
2. Adult Education Regulations 1924 Articles 17(c) and (d).

low academic standard. At the prescribed maximum duration it was one-half the maximum length of the least demanding of the Chapter II courses, university extension, but the maximum grant which could be earned was a mere 18% of the maximum grant available under the latter. Even when compared with the One Year Course the Terminal course extended over one-half its length but received only a maximum grant of 22% of the maximum available for One Year courses. It is possible, indeed probable, that the Board's view was that Terminal courses should be restricted to introductory, pioneering courses and thus made intrinsically financially unattractive to encourage the W.E.A. and other approved associations to provide longer more sustained courses of study, educationally more demanding and financially more attractive.

Finally, the distinction between Chapters II and III was continued into the category of Vacation Courses. Originally developed in connection with university extension provision in the late nineteenth century and which had become valuable opportunities for study during summer meetings at Oxford, Cambridge and other universities, they had been extended to provide similar residential intensive courses of study for tutorial class students shortly before the first world war and continued with rapidly expanding numbers in the period following 1918. Appropriately, these classes were brought into Chapter II provision and Board of Education grants were made available for "selected students organised in connection with Tutorial Classes".[1] Similar but separate arrangements were also available for Vacation Courses organised for selected students who had attended classes under Chapter III.

1. Adult Education Regulations 1924 Article 16.

Policy Implications of the 1924 Regulations

The fundamental importance of the introduction of a separate and distinctive set of Regulations for liberal adult education was welcomed both by the universities and the W.E.A., for which each District was recognised as the Responsible Body for the provision of Chapter III courses. However, only Chapter II courses were established as permanent features of the provision under the 1924 Regulations. The approval of the Chapter III arrangements was regarded only as a stop-gap, interim measure; initially for a five year period up to the end of July, 1929. The Board's declared policy was to encourage L.E.A.s to assume the role of main provider of courses, and accept financial responsibility for them, in the non-university sector. The strategic position of L.E.A.s in the development of a national education system was in the opinion of the Board essential to the full development of adult education, and while there was an important role for voluntary bodies in this development, it was subsidiary to the direct involvement and provision by L.E.A.s of courses of the lower standard which had been recognised in Chapter III of the Regulations. Their capacity to make available

> "much more adequate facilities of varied kinds are greatly to be desired in the public interest, including no doubt an extensive and widely distributed provision of courses less advanced in standard than University extra-mural provision".[1]

Under such a policy, the Board of Education saw the role of the voluntary bodies as that of stimulating the demand for, and organisation of potential students in connection with, courses. It will be recalled that the Final Report, 1919, had stressed the ability of the W.E.A. to undertake this role but without, as recommended by the Report, in future

1. Ibid. Prefatory Note

the provision of courses. Thus after some 20 years of educational endeavour, the bulk of it financed without assistance from public funds, the Board of Education expressed official dubiety about the capacity of voluntary bodies to develop fully a system of adult education provision below university-provided level. In 1924 the Board of Education policy appears to have envisaged a two-tier system for liberal adult education, with the L.E.A.s providing a broadly based, widely distributed range of opportunities, in accommodation which already existed, at an introductory, elementary level presumably as the counterpart of the already well-established and successful provision for vocational courses under the Technical Schools Regulations. The more advanced, lengthier study courses would consist of an upper tier for university work undertaken through the recently established extra-mural departments. For both types of courses the voluntary organisations, principally the W.E.A., would be relegated to a non-providing role and it is difficult to envisage the precise raison d'etre for their continued existence following the removal of the principle, fundamental to the W.E.A. at least, that the students should select both the subject to be studied and the tutor who would conduct the course.

That this policy was not successful remains a matter for further detailed research, but some of the reasons are at least in outline reasonably clear. It is clear that the L.E.A.s did not endeavour to expand significantly their activities in liberal adult education, probably because it was not a duty under the 1921 Education Act. Thus there was an understandable reluctance by L.E.A.s to incur increased expenditure under the then existing percentage grants system. The earlier practice of providing modest grants in aid to universities and the W.E.A. which undertook all the organisational and administrative work in the mounting

of courses was continued almost everywhere.[1] In the Eastern District, there was a quickening of interest and support on the part of L.E.A.s but no direct involvement. Bedfordshire, when it might have assumed responsibility for the rural scheme which the District had pioneered under Shearman from 1927-30, refused to consider appointing him to its teaching staff as an adult education tutor.[2] East Suffolk failed to provide any financial assistance to support the District's scheme for adult education in that rural county, and the refusal to do so effectively led to its discontinuance.[3]

The reluctance of L.E.A.s to take the initiative in the provision of Chapter III courses must have caused considerable disappointment at the Board of Education. In principle at least, there was no rooted objection to a larger, direct involvement of the L.E.A. in adult education. The Final Report, 1919, had acknowledged that such a role was essential in the development of adult education[4] and the Board's Adult Education Committee in its first published Paper, a clear indication of the importance attached to the issue, foresaw increased co-operation between L.E.A.s and the voluntary bodies as "vital to the full development of adult education" although it is clear from the Paper that this was not envisaged in the way in which the Board of Education enunciated it in the 1924 Regulations: rather it was in the development of the supporting role envisaged in the Final Report of 1919.[5]

1.Notable exceptions were in London, Durham and Kent where the L.E.A.s organised their own programmes of adult education or assumed full financial responsibility for courses.
2.See Chapter 5, .
3.See Chapter 6,
4.Final Report, 1919, op.cit. paras. 202-205.
5.Board of Education Adult Education Committee Paper No.1 "Local Co-operation Between Universities, Local Education Authorities and Voluntary Bodies" H.M.S.O. 1922, p.5.

The Board of Education was also conscious of the practical administrative problem with which it was confronted in maintaining official relations with every voluntary organisation:

> "It would be almost impossible for the Board adequately to supervise adult education were the responsibility for its administration in the hands of a large number of voluntary organisations. We therefore appreciate the desire of the Board to aid adult education through Local Education Authorities rather than by direct grant, and in general approve such a policy, though we think it desirable that bodies which exist for no other purpose than that of the provision of adult education should receive special consideration".[1]

Thus, as early as 1922, the policy of the Board appeared to be emerging and was at least as dependent on administrative considerations as educational ones. The final sentence in the quotation was a clear reference to the W.E.A. and although the views of the Adult Education Committee might be detected in the framing of the 1924 Regulations the temporary nature of Chapter III suggests the Board preferred to see the L.E.A.s assuming responsibility for that level of work and made its position explicit in the Prefatory Note to the Regulations cited above.

In consideration of an expanded role for the L.E.A.s, the Adult Education Committee in 1922 also endorsed the recommendation for regional Adult Education Joint Committees covering areas larger than single L.E.A.s and on which the voluntary bodies would be fully represented, but the idea appeared not to be favoured by the Board and nothing came of the recommendation.[2] The reluctance of L.E.A.s to prepare plans for expansion of provision of adult education became obvious under the provisions of the 1918 Education Act. Although much truncated, this Act required L.E.A.s to prepare Schemes, or development plans, for the provision of education in their areas. By 1922, the Adult Education

1. Ibid p.7. Underlining by Williams.
2. Possibly because the District organisation of the W.E.A. already existed to provide a regional framework in conjunction with Universities.

Committee was able to report that the Board of Education had not approved any L.E.A. Schemes which contained "an extensive programme of adult education" and could claim that "at present the amount of co-operation ... is perhaps not large".[1]

Few Adult Education Joint Committees, or preliminary Consultative Committees of L.E.A.s and voluntary organisations were established, as had been recommended, although there were some tentative steps taken in this direction by individual local authorities. In the Eastern District, for example, some consultation did occur between the local councils and W.E.A. Branches at Ipswich and Lincoln but were not developed, and appear to have been abandoned after a few years. Despite the exhortation for L.E.A.s to become involved in adult education their effort appears to have been confined, as mentioned in the previous chapter, to assistance in support of the work of the voluntary and university bodies either through grants for classes of which they approved, or in kind, through the provision of services such as accommodation, heat and light, without charge. Few authorities, and this is especially true for L.E.A.s in the Eastern District, became actively engaged in the direct provision of courses of liberal adult Education, with the exception of Cambridgeshire upon the initiative of Henry Morris, its Secretary for Education. Although the Adult Education Committee reported that for the 1926-27 session, 56 out of 62 county ccuncils and 67 out of 82 county boroughs were assisting adult education provision to some degree, few were directly organising their own programmes of courses.[2] Additionally, by 1927, it was apparent that although encouraged to pursue the Board's stated policy little further development had occurred and the Committee reported that

1. Adult Education Committee 1922 op.cit. pp. 8 and 12.
2. Adult Education Committee Paper No. 9 op.cit. Examples of direct provision made were London, Durham, Kent and Warwickshire.

> "we are not aware that any Authority has expressed a desire that Chapter III of the Regulations should be withdrawn .... The Board have stated that the question whether Chapter III of the Adult Education Regulations should become a permanent part of the grant system must depend upon the policy pursued by Authorities".[1]

This was a significant development and indicated that the Board was entirely dependent on a firm initiative being taken by L.E.A.s, and confirms Pateman's conversation with Joseph Owen, an H.M.I., which he conveyed to Mactavish in July, 1926.[2] It was thus revealed that the existing Chapter III Regulations were likely to become a permanent feature of the Board's Regulations if the L.E.A.s did not seize the policy opportunity offered by the central government department. For this negative reason, together with the initiative shown by the W.E.A. outlined below, the Regulations for Chapter III were confirmed in 1932, but the Board then attempted to develop a second line of policy which once more threatened the work of the W.E.A.

Under the stated impermanence of Chapter III of the 1924 Regulations, the W.E.A. expanded its activities in a remarkable way, so that when the promised review of the interim arrangements occurred in 1929-30, later than originally intended, the Board was not in a position seriously to consider any alternative other than to confirm the Chapter III Regulations which continued to exist until the introduction of the Further Education Grant Regulations of 1946.

The national Association arranged an informal conference at Balliol College, Oxford, in June 1926, to consider the Board's declared policy for the transfer of responsibility of Chapter III courses to L.E.A.s and its implications for the W.E.A. The conference resolved to

1. Ibid pp.73-74.
2. See p.281.

oppose the transfer of responsibility and Mactavish undertook a national survey on the existing relations between the Districts and L.E.A.s over the degree of financial support already provided for W.E.A. classes, together with the collation of any initiatives taken by L.E.A.s to expand provision of Chapter III type courses.[1]

Although the Mactavish survey appears not to have been published, Pateman in his reply on the Eastern District declared that with the exception of Hertfordshire and the Soke of Peterborough, all the other L.E.A.s in the District were grant-aiding W.E.A. classes. He was unable to assess the probable L.E.A. reaction to proposals to assume direct Chapter III responsibilities but if alteration to the existing arrangements was inevitable, he would prefer the organisation and supervision of Chapter III courses directly under a Joint University Committee, an analogue of the existing Joint Committee for Tutorial Classes which was working well.[2] He added gratuitously and significantly, for Mactavish's private consumption, that in a recent conversation with Joseph Owen, H.M.I., it was "not the declared policy of the Board of Education to transfer responsibility for One Year Classes and Terminal Courses to L.E.A.s. As a matter of fact the Board has not considered the matter."[3]

Mactavish, as a member of the Adult Education Committee, must have used the material gathered in the survey and the Association's opposition to any transfer of Chapter III powers to L.E.A.s, in making explicit the attitude of the W.E.A., so that the 1927 Paper of the Committee commented on the issue with considerable understatement:

1. National Association's letter to District Secretaries 26 June, 1926.
2. Pateman's reply to Mactavish's letter 22 July, 1926.
3. Ibid

> "we have reason to believe that the voluntary bodies ... desire that the existing view it is very doubtful whether it will ever be desirable to withdraw Chapter III of the Regulations and we are clear that this Chapter cannot be withdrawn in 1929 without inflicting grave damage on the adult education movement".[1]

One of the reasons for the delay in reviewing the arrangements for Chapter III promised in 1924 for 1929 thus became apparent from the stance adopted by the Adult Education Committee. It is reasonably certain that if the Board had not abandoned its policy of seeking to transfer responsibility for Chapter III courses to L.E.A.s the effects on adult education would have been disastrous. By 1929, the L.E.A.s had little changed their general attitude of being passive partners in provision and were obviously not in a position to assume directly providing powers in succession to the W.E.A. even if the inclination had existed; which manifestly it did not. The W.E.A., presumably under these circumstances, would have been left only with a share in the provision for Tutorial Classes, and might have continued with some non-grant aided courses, perhaps building a closer relationship with a largely inactive trade union interest. The Universities would have been left with a field of activity of considerable width for which it had neither existing resources to succeed nor likely to enjoy in the then foreseeable future. The other providing Approved Associations could be discounted as possible alternatives since in the 1926-27 session they provided only a small proportion of courses, and the only other major active voluntary providing body, the National Adult School had not sought recognition under the 1924 Regulations.[2] The other major voluntary movement, the

1. Adult Education Committee Paper No. 9 op.cit. p.74.
2. Ibid p.9. A survey undertaken by the Committee for the session 1926-27 revealed that the provision made by other approved associations which earned Board of Education grant was:

	One Year	Terminal
Educational Settlements Assoc.	13	14
National Industrial Alliance	22	nil
Y.M.C.A.	4	8
	39	22
W.E.A.*	155	308

*Raybould op.cit. 1951, p.120

Table 3

W.E.A. Eastern District Courses Grant-aided under the 1924 Regulations, 1924-30 and Short Courses (Non grant)

Type of Course	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	1927-28	1928-29	1929-30	1930-31	
Tutorial	13	15	18	18	16	18	25	Chapter II
Prep. Tutorial	2	2	-	1	5	3	-	
Adv. Tutorial	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	
One Year	6	9	9	13	13	15	16	Chapter III
Terminal	18	24	15*	20	22	36	31	
No. Students in Chapter III Courses	512	813	1030	1100	1282	1823		
Short Courses & Study Circles (Non Grant)	9	12	12	11	6	15**	16**	

* The reduction in the number of Terminal Courses arose from the Board of Education's refusal to approve for grant some subjects which had been provided in earlier years without query. In 1925, classes in Public Speaking, Country Dancing, and Esperanto were declared inadmissible after the courses had begun and the District was forced to meet the deficits incurred on these courses that year. (Board of Education Memorandum to W.E.A. T698/209 June, 1925).

** The total included four Wireless Listening Groups in 1929-30 and three in 1930-31.

important and active Co-operative Union had close connections with the W.E.A. and arranged most of its major courses in conjunction with the W.E.A. Districts. The Board was thus left in a major dilemma because of the inactivity of the L.E.A.s and their disinclination to become major providing agents for adult education, whereas the W.E.A. had expanded the number and range of courses under the stimulation of the Regulations.

In the Eastern District the rapid growth of Chapter III courses was probably not untypical of the activities in other Districts and is summarised in Table No. 3 supra which illustrates, as does the Graph (Appendix No. 4), the rapidity of the expansion in the number of classes, especially Terminal Courses which doubled in total during the first six years of the operation of the Regulations, and One Year Courses which also showed substantial increase. The University Joint Committee provision for Tutorial Classes are also included to provide additional information about the District's participation under Chapter II. The non-grant earning, wholly District-funded activities are also included to provide a full coverage of the District's educational courses and classes. The expansion in activities during these six years can be seen in the overall context of the District development throughout the period by reference to the graphs in Appendices 4 and 5 which illustrate the importance of this period to the District's growth; a pattern which was substantially similar elsewhere during the period up to 1940.

The Adult Regulations, 1932

As already mentioned, the Board of Education review of the 1924 Regulations came later than originally intended and undoubtedly considered the advice of its own Adult Education Committee. The position of the Approved Associations and the experience gained under Chapter III was

the ostensible reason for the review although under the circumstances already discussed the operation of the existing Regulations was confirmed and indeed, re-inforced. In the face of the growth of the W.E.A.'s national provision both in terms of courses conducted and membership of its classes from 1924, there was little that the Board could have done otherwise than to confirm the continuation of the Regulations on a permanent basis.[1] Further, the growth of the new type of extension course emphasised the continuing rising demand for courses other than those traditionally considered appropriate for adult education and which were less demanding of the student. The relatively negligible participation rate of the L.E.A.s in initiating courses and their continued preference merely to provide financial support for university and W.E.A. classes and courses led to acceptance by the Board of what must have appeared as an inevitable and upward trend.

It was in the rural areas where the difficulties were most apparent. The provision of educational facilities in country districts was little short of a national disgrace.[2] This opinion had been generally held also by the Final Report, 1919, which called for the re-creation of the countryside in the post-war period. For adult education the Final Report's views were endorsed by the Adult Education Committee in 1922 when it noted "There is very little provision by Local Education Authorities of adult non-vocational education in rural districts".[3] There was little the universities or the W.E.A. could do to improve the

1. Rayyould op.cit. p.120, Table VII indicates that the W.E.A. grant-aided classes increased in totals as follows:

	1926-27	1928-29	1930-31
One Year Courses	155	191	260
Terminal Courses	308	425	575

2. V. Bonham Carter The English Village, Penguin Books 1952, pp.190-200

3. Board of Education Adult Education Committee Paper No. 3 "Development of Adult Education in Rural Areas" H.M.S.O. 1922, p.7.

provision because of the inaccessibility of many districts by road or rail, the expense of mounting courses and the relatively small numbers of students enrolled. Pioneer work of the type which Pateman undertook, and to which reference was made in the previous chapter, was both amateurish and extremely limited because of its expense and difficulties over public transport. The dispersed nature of the population meant that few courses could qualify for grant-aid under the 1924 Regulations and thus the latent demand, which was confidentally thought to exist for Chapter III courses, could not be satisfied.

Nevertheless, the appointment of tutors such as Newlove in Norfolk in the early part of the decade, and followed by a similar and superior arrangement in Bedfordshire undertaken by Shearman in its final years, clearly pointed the way forward to development of adult education if the Regulations were modified in recognition of the demographic and social characteristics of rural life and also to grant-aid the appointment of resident tutors on a salaried basis for the development of adult education in rural areas.

The Final Report, 1919, had devoted considerable attention to rural areas as did the Adult Education Committee in its Paper on rural adult education in 1922. Yet again, the template offered by the 1918 Report was endorsed and short pioneer courses were recommended as an essential pre-condition in the development of more formal, sustained courses of study leading to higher standards of work.

> "The first necessity is to awaken the latent desire for education, to overcome the hesitation of the countryman and woman to attend classes, to arouse their initiative and overcome their lack of self-confidence".[1]

1. Adult Education Committee Paper No. 3 op.cit. pp.26-27.

To promote this initial development the Committee in 1922 recommended that "a nucleus of tutors, whether provided by a University or Settlement or other body employing full-time tutors, is essential".[1] However, little was done to facilitate the development of adult education specifically in rural areas through the 1924 Regulations and by 1927, the Adult Education Committee again returned to a consideration of the problem

> "In the countryside a nucleus of full-time tutors is indispensable for the full development of the work; in urban areas such a nucleus, if not indispensable, is of very great assistance".[2]

The point was elaborated in greater detail over the appointment and duties of such tutors:

> "We think it desirable that the same type of teacher should be employed in these courses (One Year, Terminal and less formal) as in University Tutorial Classes and that arrangements should be made whereby staff-tutors appointed for extra mural work by the Universities should be encouraged to devote part of their time to less formal work, not only in the interests of the work, but also in order to provide a variety of occupation for the tutor and to ensure that he keeps in touch with all phases of the adult education movement."[3]

It seems that this recommendation was based on the experience of the Nottingham Department of Adult Education which under Peers guidance emphasised the importance of the most able tutors being employed in pioneering work under its comprehensive scheme.[4] The experience of the W.E.A., and a few university schemes, such as the outstandingly successful one at Nottingham, apparently convinced the Board of Education that the views of its own Adult Education Committee should be adopted and in the 1932 Regulations appointments of full-time salaried tutors was made possible, under Article 11 of the Regulations, and grants in aid of a

1. Ibid p.17
2. Adult Education Committee Paper No. 9 op.cit. p.49.
3. Ibid p.49
4. Peers "Adult Education in the East Midlands 1920-26" Univ. of Nottingham undated, passim.

limited number of appointments became available. However, the recommendations of the Adult Education Committee were not accepted in their entirety on this matter. The Committee recommended that the appointment of full-time tutors should in practice be available to any Responsible Body wishing to promote such development and they should be able to receive grants in aid of salaries. In the 1932 Regulations the appointment of tutors was approved, but they were available only to the universities, presumably because the Board did not wish to see a proliferation of appointments of full-time tutors whose work would be difficult to supervise and who might have been in direct competition with each other within the same area. Further, without fairly tight control, the open-ended nature of freedom for all Responsible Bodies, and particularly the W.E.A. whose volume of work and record for capitalising on opportunities was impressive, might have led to a significant increase in expenditure for the Board in a period of economic depression and financial retrenchment in educational expenditure.

Thus, in 1932, in addition to the desired and campaigned confirmation of the role of the W.E.A. as an Approved Association for the provision of adult education grant-aided by the Board for Chapter III Courses, the Board of Education modified the 1924 Regulations "with the object, in particular, of promoting development in rural areas where special difficulties have been encountered."[1] To secure these objectives, the Board modified the Regulations governing courses eligible for approval and also introduced grants in aid of the appointment of full-time

1. Board of Education Memorandum to Responsible Bodies No. 5 10 February, 1931. The Memorandum outlining the main changes proposed in the Regulations was issued in advance of the official documents to enable preliminary planning of courses to be undertaken for the 1931-32 session.

salaried tutors under Article 11.[1]

The main changes were intended to permit courses of a more elementary standard to be recognised for grant-aid under both Chapters, and, significantly, gave freedom to University Extra-Mural Departments to provide courses of standards lower than previously considered appropriate for their involvement. These changes were, eventually, to lead to competition and conflict with the W.E.A., particularly in the Eastern District, up to the war in 1939 and form a substantial issue considered in later chapters in this study.[2]

One of the possible reasons for the increased freedom of universities to enter the sphere of Chapter III activities was the change in membership of the Adult Education Committee from the mid-nineteen-twenties onwards and the creation of the Universities Extra Mural Consultative Committee.[3] From 1926 onwards there appear to have been regular consultations between the Board and this new body as well as with the W.E.A., and the membership of the Adult Education Committee appears to have led to a dilution of W.E.A. and Approved Association membership in favour of representation from the universities. The increased influence of the university members and the experience of some, such as Peers, is possibly reflected in the ways in which the Regulations were modified in 1932 as well as the

1. Adult Education Regulations Article 11. Tutors appointed by the Cambridge Extra Mural Board under this Article will throughout be referred to as "Article 11 tutors"
2. See particularly Chapter 8.
3. The U.E.M.C.C. emerged from an informal group of Secretaries of Extra Mural Departments which had met for some years prior to formal constitution in July, 1925. From 1926 onwards it published annual reports on university extension activities, as the counterpart to the Central Joint Advisory Committee on Tutorial Classes and with which it had an element of over-lapping membership. Cambridge was always well represented on the U.E.M.C.C. in that Cranage was its first Chairman and Hickson a co-opted member from inception.

predilection of the Board itself following the failure of its earlier declared policy favouring L.E.A. responsibility for Chapter III work.

As stated above, the revision of the Regulations fell into two main categories: the recognition of short courses for grant-aid under Chapters II and III and the introduction of an establishment of full-time tutors, appointed by universities with grants in aid of salaries.

Shorter courses were permitted under Chapter II in respect of university extension courses. In special circumstances Short University Extension Courses of less than 10 but not less than six meetings, each of 90 minutes duration, were introducted and were specifically intended to assist in the promotion of pioneer work in rural areas.[1] It was expected that such courses would prepare the way for more extended courses and the Board intended to review the extent to which such courses had served that purpose. In addition, University Extension Courses of the traditional type continued to be recognised on the basis of the "class" element as under the 1924 Regulations.

Similar arrangements were approved for Chapter III courses. For Terminal Courses, the 1924 Regulations were continued, but in addition, Short Terminal Courses were introduced, and approved under special circumstances, consisting of fewer than twelve but not less than six meetings. As in the case of Short University Extension Courses these were intended to promote developments in rural areas and were to be reviewed to ascertain the extent to which their objectives of leading to more advanced, sustained study, had been achieved. For both types of course, in rural areas the minimum qualifying number of students was

1. Adult Education Regulations 1932 Article 17(f) and Board of Education Memorandum to Responsible Bodies No. 6 October, 1931.

reduced from the customary twelve to nine to secure grant-aid.[1]

The new short courses introduced a range of possibilities for a genuine development of rural adult education and in stressing the importance of the introductory, experimental courses, the Board sought to impress Responsible Bodies over the expectation that these were to lead on to longer and more demanding courses. The Board would also not normally approve grant-aid for any short course held in a centre at which longer courses had previously been conducted. This innovation was not entirely without its anxieties. The Board's cautionary injunction that recognition of such courses should not be interpreted as a lowering of the standard of work under Regulations was matched by its concern that the Short University Extension Course should be regarded as of equal status with other types of Chapter II work:

> "If the high standard associated with the name of University Extension Courses is to be maintained the qualifications of the tutors, both for Ordinary and Short university extension courses, should be comparable with those of other tutors engaged in other forms of university teaching".[2]

This concern about short courses and the danger of lower standards also occurs in several references in the Adult Education Committee's Paper No. 9, and reveals a divided concern within the Committee about the possibility of the interaction between these two elements as a result of the application of the 1924 Regulations.

> "The growth of this type of work creates in a sense a new position in adult education: it is a source of great satisfaction to those whose chief desire is that adult education should be widespread: it is a source of some anxiety to those who see in it a danger of a confusion of aims between different kinds of adult education and a decline in standards".[3]

1. Adult Education Regulations 1932 Article 21(a)(e)(f)
2. Board of Education Memorandum to Responsible Bodies No. 6
3. Adult Education Committee Paper No. 9 op.cit. 1927 p.1

The Committee was concerned about the balance between longer, more demanding courses and the shorter less rigorous ones which had tilted decisively in favour of the latter in ways unforeseen and unintended under the 1924 Regulations. The consequences were that it was difficult to secure desirable standards in quality and character of the teaching or in the effort required of the student; a concern in which it appears that all developments of this kind were being measured against the three year Tutorial Class standards. It was acknowledged that there had to be a variety of courses available to meet the demand and the Tutorial Class manifestly could not be regarded as a universal goal for all adult students, but the methods, quality and spirit of the original purposes underlying adult studies were nevertheless regarded as essential; an early indication of the almost continuous debate within the W.E.A. which was to follow during the ensuing thirty years.

For the W.E.A., although its significance appears not to have been fully appreciated at the time, a disturbing and potentially threatening addition was made to the 1932 Regulations. The possibility was included that in exceptional circumstances, courses under Chapter III of the Regulations could be provided under the control and direction of a university body already providing Tutorial Classes. This possible enlargement in the role of universities was clearly necessary if the new policies of expansion of adult education in rural areas and the full potential of the new Article 11 tutors were to be realised. It offered a new prospect to the universities and, of course, breached the formal demarcation between Chapters II and III which the 1924 Regulations had introduced and which the Adult Education Committee had endorsed when reviewing the developments of the adult education provision in 1927.[1]

1. Adult Education Committee Paper No. 9 op.cit. passim.

In fact, the formal demarcation between Chapters II and III under the 1924 Regulations had not been absolute. The University of Birmingham and University College Nottingham had been recognised, exceptionally, as Approved Associations under the 1924 Regulations in acceptance of a de facto position existing prior to 1924. Before that year, both had been involved in the provision of courses which were included under Chapter III of the Regulations in association with a variety of voluntary organisations including the W.E.A. as a result of joint co-operation in the mounting of courses and classes. In the case of Nottingham, a University Extension Committee equal in status to the University Joint Committee for Tutorial Classes had been established with representation from L.E.A.s, other colleges and several voluntary organisations concerned with adult education such as the Y.M.C.A., the Adult School Union, the W.I. and the W.E.A., and courses were provided from 1921 onwards which under the 1924 Regulations were formally included under Chapter III provision.[1] In Nottingham especially, the organisational arrangement was very successful in stimulating a wide range of adult education courses with a good record of student progression from elementary courses to more advanced without any problem of divided loyalties, or transfer of allegiance, among providing authorities since courses were co-ordinated under the university joint committee.[2] Thus it was not surprising that in 1924 the Board should recognise existing and successful arrangements as a 'temporary measure' to encourage further expansion in provision.[3]

As already mentioned, the Adult Education in 1927 re-affirmed with total approbation the Board's distinction between Chapters II and III and

1. Peers op.cit. 1926 passim.
2. Adult Education Committee Paper No. 9, p.43
3. Raybould op.cit. p.102.

thought it was working satisfactorily. However, the temporary concession to both universities was never withdrawn, and could be extended under Article 11 tutor-appointments to all universities on application to the Board, under the 1932 Regulations.

Article 11 Tutors

It is probable that the growing concern about the potential problem of lowering standards which might arise from the shorter, less demanding courses for both students and tutors influenced the Board of Education in framing the 1932 Regulations. The problem of a decline in standards was considered at length by the Adult Education Committee in 1927 and led to its recommendation that the method and spirit of university teaching should be extended to these courses. To facilitate this process and to give partial effect to the other major recommendation of the 1927 Report of the Adult Education Committee, the 1932 Regulations introduced the inclusive grant formula to enable universities to appoint full time salaried tutors for adult education replacing the previous practice of payment of tutor fees linked to the number and standard of the classes conducted. A maximum of two tutors could be employed by a University Responsible Body who would be eligible for the inclusive grant, paid either as 75% of the salary or a maximum of £300 per annum.[1]

The work of the Article 11 tutors was prescribed in the sense that a model teaching programme was provided in the Regulations. Each tutor was expected to include in his teaching plan

> "at least one Three Year Tutorial Class and may include other classes falling within the scope of Chapter II or Chapter III and pioneer work intended to develop adult education."[2]

1. Adult Education Regulations 1932 Article 11. Under exceptional circumstances it was possible for a University Responsible Body to appoint a third tutor. The "inclusive grant" was an important development in that for the first time in adult education tutors for adult education could be paid a salary, recognised for grant-aid, instead of the earlier practice of earning fees related to the number and level of course undertaken.
2. Ibid Article 11(b)

In the Memorandum on the Regulations, the reasons were given for the departure from the earlier convention and demarcation between Chapters II and III. The clear intention was that it would provide "a method of developing adult education in rural areas where ordinary arrangements ... may be difficult to work" and further that

> "although an important part of the tutor's work will naturally be in the way of opening up new ground and holding experimental lectures and short courses, it is also very desirable that in addition to taking a Three Year Tutorial Class, the tutor should take one or more classes of the One Year or Terminal type which may often provide the foundation for three year courses later on. The Board are convinced that a development in this direction is just as desirable as the initiation of the movement by special work in very remote areas".[1]

In this new educational policy, there were several implications, some immediate and others longer term and perhaps not as easily recognised. Two were of particular significance. The development of rural areas was the justification for the blurring of the relatively sharp distinction between the provision under Chapters II and III. For some W.E.A. Districts with large rural areas this was a matter of considerable significance and concern because the advantage conferred on universities through Article 11 tutors made the development of the voluntary effort even more difficult in the absence of adequate financial resources and the additional expense of rural work. Further, any major effort to extend the influence of the W.E.A. in areas in which, for a variety of reasons, it had been previously incapable of developing would clearly appear to be competitive rather than complementary to university provision. In the Eastern District, for example, an altruistic view was taken of the Regulations in 1932. The District had pioneered the appointment of resident tutors in Norfolk, Kettering district and Bedfordshire. In Bedfordshire, when difficulties had arisen over the continuation of the

1. Adult Education Regulations 1932 Memorandum to Responsible Bodies No. 6.

rural initiative and the continued employment of Shearman as the W.E.A.'s resident tutor in the county appeared to be at an end, the University Extra Mural Board had co-operated with the District and appointed him as one of its tutors, well before the 1932 Regulations were published. It had also assumed financial responsibility for the scheme. The real significance of relinquishing its providing powers under Chapter III and allowing the University Board to assume them in Bedfordshire was only to emerge a few years later.[1]

Secondly, the apparent justification for Article 11 tutors to conduct Chapter III courses appeared to have been accepted by the Board of Education as being an essential preliminary for studies leading to three year Tutorial Classes. This, at least superficially, appears to be difficult to accept because the Adult Education Committee in 1927, while concerned about the possibility that shorter courses would lead to lower standards conceded that new patterns of demand and interest in adult education were emerging for which the newer type of course was an appropriate method of provision.

> "It would be futile to expect that all students will ever conform to the Tutorial Class pattern. What may be called the adult education public is very diverse both in its composition and its needs ... many of those who attend Terminal and One Year courses are different from those who find their wants met best by the Tutorial Class ... even the veteran Tutorial Class student does not always want another Three Years' Course .... To regard the Tutorial Class as the goal towards which every student should be directed is to adopt a narrow and conventional view of the meaning of adult education."[2]

Thus, it appears curious that the Board on the one hand supporting, indeed promoting, the development of adult education through Regulations which encouraged the provision of short courses under a wide variety of circumstances and introduced a scheme for permanent appointments of

1. Chapter 7
2. Adult Education Committee Paper No. 9 op.cit. 1927, pp.29-30.

salaried tutors who were expected to undertake a range of courses, should adopt a narrow, obsolescent view of the methods and purpose of adult education. Other reasons appear to be more important, and subject to further detailed research, the 1932 Regulations appear possibly to reflect the Board's search for administrative convenience, order and simplicity which would be achieved through a concentration of effort and responsibility in the universities, a restriction on the growth of voluntary association, until the L.E.A.s would accept their responsibilities for adult education which might be further encouraged when the national economic position had improved and the immediate pre-occupation with secondary education in the post-Hadow period reduced. It is possible to interpret the continuing policy of the Board as antipathetic to voluntary bodies, and the 1932 Regulations clearly widened the differential treatment, and apparent official regard, in favour of the universities.

The new policy for Article 11 tutors gave the universities freedom to operate across the whole field of adult education endeavour, in itself a serious threat to voluntary provision, but it also breached the explicit convention of the W.E.A.'s role as the main organisers of the student demand - a claim to a unique function which had been stressed in the 1919 Report, accepted by the universities, L.E.A.s in practice and which had been the basis of the foundation, organisation and provision of Tutorial Class movement from its inception.[1]

Article 11 tutors generally became resident in the areas which they served and thus, especially in rural areas, stimulated, organised and promoted courses among the adult population, which they then either

1. 1919 Final Report op.cit. Chapter VII, pp.112-116.

provided directly or through the extra-mural department's visiting tutor-register. The model for the approach was, of course, clearly similar to that already used by the W.E.A. Further, and a matter of crucial importance in other Districts as well as the Eastern, the University Extra Mural Departments, in addition to direct funding by the University, now received a considerable advantage through the facility of the appointment of additional staff without having to battle increases in staffing establishments through the tortuous process of inter-faculty considerations of internal university procedures. The boost to staffing establishments, increased freedom across the whole spectrum of adult education provision, with official encouragement to tackle the major problem of the rural areas, and increased staffing and financial resources to do so funding directly by the Board of Education, can also be construed as an attempt by the Board to develop through the Universities an alternative strategy to that of the 1924 Regulations over Chapter III, in which it had failed because of the reluctance of the L.E.A.s to assume responsibility for Chapter III provision. If so, there was little danger of this alternative approach foundering for similar reasons and in the Eastern District the Cambridge Extra Mural Board seized the opportunities and grasped the policy implications with complete approbation.[1]

In contrast, the voluntary bodies relied on the income earned from classes and courses to meet the costs of providing them. In almost every instance the tutor's fee, plus travelling expenses, organisation and advertisement at local level led to expenses which could not be met from grants earned and which the W.E.A. met through its income from subscriptions and donations. In addition, each District maintained a

1. Welch op.cit. pp.148-152.

small secretariat for the administration and organisation of its work for which there was no official measure of financial support. At this time, neither the Board nor any of the philanthropic trusts which generously supported the work of the W.E.A. recognised the need to finance the administration necessary to the success of educational programmes.[1] Some recognition of the administrative and organising work involved was given through L.E.A. grants, but the practice was not universal,[2] and there was a general reluctance to contribute towards administrative expenditure. As noted in the previous chapter, the District's difficulties of financial solvency were a problem of considerable importance in the struggle to develop and expand its educational provision. To a varying degree they were to persist throughout the period, during which the University's Extra Mural Board had few similar problems and thus was able to expand its activities and provision throughout East Anglia; a development in which the role of the resident tutor, not all of whom were Article 11 appointments, was crucial.[3] With the Board of Education's refusal to recognise any appointment of its tutors for grant aid, the W.E.A. only appointed tutors on a full-time basis when its schemes received funded support from the Cassel, Thomas Wall or Carnegie Trusts and such appointments were limited to the period for which the funded agreement was available, usually three to five years only. In the Eastern District, the arrangement with the Norfolk L.E.A. for Newlove's appointment had been an exceptional one, whereas the appointments of Miss Green under a Cassel Trust grant and Shearman supported by the Carnegie Trust were typical of the ways in which W.E.A. tutor-organisers were appointed. Miss Green proved exceptional in her appointment in that although there were several occasions on which it

1. See Chapter 3,
2. Norfolk recognised the need to provide some measure of assistance as mentioned in Chapter 3.
3. See Chapter 8 ,

appeared unlikely to be renewed, the national Association somehow or other managed to maintain her continuous employment largely through the Cassel fund, a most unusual position which lasted from 1919 to 1939.

The appointment of Shearman in 1927, with the aid of a Carnegie Trust grant, was more typical of the ways in which the W.E.A. full-time tutor appointments were made.[1] Shearman's appointment continued beyond 1930 only through the generosity of the Cambridge Extra Mural Board who assumed responsibility for the Bedfordshire rural scheme.

In rural areas especially, the importance of full-time resident tutors had been recognised for several years by the W.E.A. and whenever funding of such appointments on a temporary basis had been possible the Association was able to demonstrate their value in the clearest possible way through increased activity and the engagement of the interest of students apparently eager for a wide range of courses up to and including Tutorial Classes. Unfortunately, on occasions when either a philanthropic trust grant or that of an L.E.A. was withdrawn following completion of the period for the original funding, the consolidation of successful pioneering work was incapable of being supported by the Association from its own financial resources. Such was the case in Norfolk and after several years of successful adult education effort under the scheme which ended with the continuing illness of Newlove, the L.E.A. support was withdrawn and Norfolk was almost totally without any Chapter III work until the appointment of a Cambridge Board Article 11 tutor in 1938.[2]

Article 11 tutors introduced under the 1932 Regulations conferred

1. See Chapter 5,
2. The tutor was John Hampden Jackson whose appointment, somewhat ironically, led to a remarkable strengthening of the position of the W.E.A. in Norfolk. The circumstances are considered in Chapter 8.

considerable advantages on university extra mural departments for the provision of adult education especially in rural areas and established a pattern of major disparity between their effort and that of the W.E.A. which became even more marked in the period following the end of the 1939-45 war, and which persists to the present time.[1] In the years immediately following the introduction of the 1932 Regulations several universities sought to provide Chapter III courses in rural areas and did so with the acquiescence of the W.E.A. simply because some of the Districts were financially incapable of undertaking either parallel work on a basis of mutual co-operation or even in direct competition.[2] Both these factors were evident in the Eastern District which even conceded its providing powers in Bedfordshire when the University's Extra Mural Board assumed responsibility for the W.E.A. scheme and appointed Shearman as one of its tutors.[3]

Whatever the underlying intentions of the policy which led to the universities having the exclusive privilege of appointing Article 11 tutors, it appears that in one explicit respect at least their introduction did not lead to the anticipated growth in more advanced courses of higher standard, and the fears of some of the members of the Adult Education Committee appear to have been justified.[4] Raybould's analysis of grant-aided courses provided by University Extra Mural Responsible Bodies indicated that although there was a substantial increase in all types of courses in the period following the introduction of the 1932 Regulations, the major areas of growth were in the provision of short courses of the

1. Raybould op.cit. p.32 indicates that by 1948-49 the W.E.A. had only 24 full-time salaried tutors while University Extra Mural Departments had a staff of 179 full-time salaried tutors.
2. Ibid
3. See Chapter 5 for details of the arrangements.
4. Adult Education Committee Paper No. 9 op.cit. pp.8-9.

Chapter III type.[1]

In the Eastern District, the effects of the 1932 Regulations adversely affected W.E.A. provision. The satisfaction over the continuation of the District's scheme in Bedfordshire turned to anxiety over its implications when the Cambridge University Board declared its intentions to apply for providing powers in other areas in the District. In 1933, too, it was clear that the East Suffolk L.E.A. was not prepared to underwrite the District's rural scheme in the county and Whiteley's position, as a full-time tutor, had to be terminated.[2] Further, no possibility of any further appointments of tutors appeared likely, possibly because the philanthropic trusts interpreted the growth in the total of Article 11 tutors by universities as a national development of their own earlier endeavours in providing financial support for experimental, pioneer appointments through the W.E.A. That this might be so can be inferred from a remark about the transient nature of charitable support in 1929 by the Secretary to the Cassel Trust, although the reference then was directly in relation to the role of the L.E.A.s: but in principle it applied equally to that of the Universities in an expanded role under the 1932 Regulations.[3] In a period when the Cambridge Extra Mural Board appointed Article 11 tutors and entered the Chapter III field in Bedfordshire, Cambridgeshire and Northamptonshire, the District moved into a defensive position, in an attempt to maintain its existing provision. Notwithstanding the attitude of Shearman in Bedfordshire, where he provided university classes under Chapter III in the spirit of the W.E.A., working closely with and through the county's

1. Raybould op.cit. Table II, p.106. Between 1932-33 and the 1937-38 sessions Tutorial Classes increased by some 20%, One Year Courses by more than 30% and Terminal and Short Terminal Courses by a little over 100%.
2. See Chapter 6,
3. See Chapter 6,

Federation of W.E.A. Branches in the organisation and provision of W.E.A. courses, and also as Chairman of the Eastern District, it is difficult to conclude other than that there was a dispiriting atmosphere about the District's future at committee meetings. Almost certainly, Pateman, who had had an uncomfortable time over his tenure of office and payment of salary in the previous decade, believed that in the longer term he would be more secure with the Board than the District and thus apparently did not hesitate to accept the offer of appointment as Assistant Secretary for the Extra Mural Board in 1935.

Policy Implications

It is not yet possible to suggest with confidence that the 1932 Regulations were intentionally framed to contrive a major imbalance between the provision of adult education by Universities and Approved Associations and reverse the earlier dominance of the W.E.A. but the doubts, uncertainties, and recommendations of the Adult Education Committee from 1927 onwards, the growth of a vigorous group of extra-mural departments in the universities and the outstandingly successful initiatives and provision of Nottingham under Peers clearly influenced the Board in considering the development of the new policy which was reflected in the Regulations. Additionally, the Adult Education Committee encouraged the universities to accept a larger role in adult education through participation in the organisation of the more elementary work; in its view necessary to ensure that the rapid expansion of courses at the lower level of provision would not lead to a lowering of standards either by students or tutors. Although this was not an explicit invitation to the direct provision of courses at levels lower than those traditionally associated with extra-mural work, it became precisely that under the 1932 Regulations, possibly, as suggested earlier, because the Board may have seen the universities as an alternative agency for the development of adult education to the largely inactive L.E.A.s.

Presumably, the line taken was that as there was an undeniable demand for shorter, less demanding courses from a new adult education constituency, which from 1924 onwards had been almost entirely provided under Chapter III by the W.E.A. then if standards were to be preserved the universities had to play a larger role, particularly in the development of rural areas in which the W.E.A. had achieved relatively minor advances only. For rural areas, the Adult Education Committee had pressed, together with the W.E.A. independently, for the appointment of a cadre of full-time salaried tutors.

Further, the existence of several university extra-mural departments most of which had been established in the years following the 1924 Regulations, gave a new dimension to the possibilities of institutionalising arrangements for adult education and thus lessened the dependence on the voluntary effort for the creation of a national pattern of adult education provision. It was these departments which were anxious to expand their effort and had access to finance and to university teachers of high academic standing. The assumption that there were enough of these, able to adjust to the levels of elementary work, sufficiently sensitive and responsive to the real, although often unexpressed needs of adult students especially in rural areas, and prepared to undertake these courses appears to have emerged from little evidence.

It was undeniable that the rural areas were in urgent need of development in both social and economic re-generation. For adult education the depressed conditions in the countryside had received the attention of the members of the Final Report, 1919, and the Board's Adult Education Committee who saw with clarity and accuracy the nature of the problem in 1922:

> "The first necessity is to awaken the latent desire for adult education, to overcome the hesitation of the countryman and woman to attend classes, to arouse their initiative and overcome their lack of self-confidence. The experience of all organisations in rural areas has been that without this introductory and pioneer work in the form of single lectures and short courses of lectures it is not possible to introduce serious and sustained courses of study."[1]

This attitude persisted throughout the nineteen-twenties and became more urgent as the W.E.A. experience increasingly showed that the preliminary activities were successful but the provision of more serious and sustained courses of study were expensive and difficult to mount unaided through voluntary effort. The success of Shearman, above all, indicated that the latent desire for adult education which existed in the Eastern District could be engaged and satisfied effectively through appointments of resident tutors, even though his work in Bedfordshire from 1927 onwards disproved Pateman's enthusiastic but inaccurate assertion on costs in 1922 that

> "I am of the firm belief that there is a great desire for knowledge in country districts if the right people can be found to lead the classes ... pound for pound the rural work gives better results than the towns."[2]

Almost inevitably, finance had been, and continued to be for the W.E.A. the most intractable problem. Until the 1924 Regulations were introduced, the restrictions of the Technical Schools Regulations had meant that little grant-aid was available for adult education classes other than the Tutorial Classes, and the meagre grant was even less likely to be earned in rural areas because of the difficulty of ensuring that the courses provided 20 hours of instruction. In 1922, the Adult Education Committee had asked the Board of Education to grant-aid pioneer developments

1. Adult Education Committee Paper No. 3 1922 op.cit. pp.26-27,
2. Ibid p.6.

in rural areas for their educational value.[1] Following the introduction of the 1924 Regulations, the position had improved under the arrangements for Terminal courses but even here the grant-aid did not adequately meet the costs of mounting such courses especially in rural areas and there continued the problem of accessibility of, and therefore the supply of tutors able and willing to conduct courses in, rural areas. The recommendations of the Adult Education Committee in 1927 eventually were to carry the day in the 1932 Regulations, but the limitations on the appointment of tutors to university extra-mural departments in itself led only to partial realisation of the objectives implicit in the development of adult education in rural areas. The introduction of the freedom for universities to provide Chapter III courses led inevitably to a reduction in co-operation between the W.E.A. and the universities at a time when other circumstances encouraged co-ordination and the possibility of joint ventures.

The refusal to allow the appointment by voluntary bodies of salaried tutors under Article 11 was, in reality, a refusal to the W.E.A., the one organisation qualified by experience and commitment to this work. It had developed Chapter III work over a wide area of the country through its Districts, and had appointed several tutors on short term bases during the previous decade who had contributed, and in some cases continued, much to the awareness of the needs of rural areas and provided evidence and support for the organisation of adult education provision in this way. Indeed, the 1924 Regulations had virtually prevented the universities, except Nottingham and Birmingham, from gaining similar experience and thus severely limited their expertise in providing for rural working class education. While this policy might be construed as being unfair

1. Adult Education Committee Paper No. 1 1922 op.cit. p.28.

to the universities, the reversal of the policy and its exclusion of the W.E.A. from salaried Article 11 appointments, was not merely unfair to the latter but inevitably limited severely the effectiveness of the policy now being promoted - at the very least until the university bodies had gained experience in providing courses of a new type and for students with whom it had previously had only limited contact.

Much was to rest on the quality and sensitivity of the tutors appointed under the Article 11 arrangements and although there were undoubtedly many who were able to make the necessary adjustment, in the Eastern District they tended to be those who had a commitment to the aims of the W.E.A. or with experience of conducting classes through earlier experience of the Association's work. Shearman was, of course, a W.E.A. man who through force of circumstances in 1930 became a university adult education tutor, but the other outstandingly successful tutors in the District were Hampden Jackson and Douglas-Smith, both of whom had considerable experience in W.E.A. classes and were, more importantly, convinced W.E.A. men as university tutors for adult education.[1]

The impression conveyed under the 1932 Adult Education Regulations for the involvement of university teachers in elementary courses is of the taking of high quality standards and teaching to undeveloped rural areas rather than a process of joint learning by the tutor and the students. An element of academic patronage is evident in the assumption that high academic standards being applied to pioneering, elementary lectures and courses is inescapable if one visualises the audience, or novitiate students, as being anything other than reduced to a condition of admiration and a heightened recognition of their own inadequacies:

1. See Chapter 8 for details of the work of both tutors

not perhaps the most encouraging approach to the establishment of courses of more advanced study.[1] Unfortunately, the views of Mactavish on this development are not available, but as a member of the Adult Education Committee he could not have been enamoured by its suggestions as he reflected on his own dramatic intervention at the Oxford conference some 20 years earlier.[2]

The recommendations of the Adult Education Committee were predicated on the not unreasonable claim that through the intervention of universities, pioneer work in rural areas would lead on to longer, more demanding courses of study. The Nottingham experience appeared to provide the basis for the assumption although the experience of the W.E.A. did not suggest a linear relationship.[3] Raybould's study indicates that in the period following the introduction of the 1932 Regulations there was a remarkable increase in the number of grant-aided short courses provided by universities but an unexceptional expansion in the number of three year Tutorial Classes or indeed even in One Year courses and other intermediate courses.[4] Certainly in the Eastern District, this pattern was the one which emerged and there was no substantial increase in the number of advanced study courses which could be attributed to the effect of the 1932 Regulations. Thus, it may be inferred that the work of the universities in the post-1932 period in rural areas became directly competitive with that provided by the W.E.A. and led, because of the advantages conferred on the former by the 1932

1. Adult Education Committee Paper No. 9 op.cit. passim.
2. See Chapter 1, p.46.
3. Adult Education Committee No. 9 op.cit. p.43.
4. Raybould op.cit. Appendix 1 Table V p.116 extracted figures are:

Course	1924-25	1932-33	1937-38
Tutorial Classes	346	558	660
Others involving written work	145	446	529
Short Courses (No written work)	7	90	185

Regulations, to an unequal struggle which created friction between the providing bodies and, in the case of the Eastern District to acrimony towards the end of the period under study, over the University's provision of Chapter III courses in rural areas.[1] The expansion of the Cambridge Board of Extra Mural Studies from 1937 onwards was, in the opinion of Jacques the District Secretary, and confirmed through a study of archival material, a direct threat to the very existence of the Eastern District as a providing body in rural areas, and led to a conflict of interests which was only assuaged by the larger one which occurred in September, 1939.[2]

Summary

From the considerations throughout this chapter of the attitude of the Board towards developing policies for the provision of adult education, and the influence of the 1924 and 1932 Regulations in the implementation of these, it is clear that the progressive, incremental broadening of financial support in the Regulations was essential and crucial to the ability of the two major providing agencies to extend and strengthen the growth of liberal adult education, and initially at least, the application of Chapter II and III were important in the clarification of the roles of the universities and the voluntary bodies, principally the W.E.A. as the major provider in the latter category. The extent to which the 1932 Regulations altered the balanced approach of the Board's earlier policy through the deliberate attempt to increase the role of the universities is not yet fully established. It is possible that the Regulations merely acknowledged the need to provide an expanded role for the universities which had established well-founded Extra Mural Departments, equipped and staffed as well as prepared to assume a wider range of responsibilities in the development of adult education. Further,

1. Chapter 8.
2. Ibid

it is also possible that the role was required simply because of the emergence of a new demand for adult education fundamentally different from the traditional provision which the universities and the W.E.A. had pioneered in their different ways in earlier years. The recognition of the need for courses more demanding and involving a higher level of engagement by the student than the university extension course and yet not as demanding as the commitment to a three year Tutorial Class was clearly acknowledged by the Adult Education Committee in 1927.

Although exhorted to do so by the Board, the reluctance of the L.E.A.s to assume major responsibility for liberal adult education, must have been an important factor in the determination of the Board's policy in 1932 and led to the confirmation of Chapter III arrangements at that time.[1] Nevertheless, there was a genuine problem in the Board's attempting to administer and monitor the work of a number of voluntary bodies in the context of a policy of expansion in the provision of adult education which must have also been an important factor in the Board's deliberations. The Board might well also have sought to encourage the universities to fill the role of the statutory L.E.A.s, as they were emerging as major providers of adult education and sought through the U.E.M.C.C. to expand their activities in a vigorous, direct way and prepared to challenge the traditional attitude to the W.E.A. as the major provider in adult education.[2]

The key issue of the earlier failure of attempts to develop an

1. Peers op.cit. 1958 p.99. Peers doubts the capacity of L.E.A.s, even if they had wished, to assume more direct responsibility for adult education. He emphasises the absence of staff and the size of a staffing establishment which would have been required to give effect to direct L.E.A. provision.
2. See Chapter 8 ,

adequate system of provision in rural areas exposed the weakness of voluntary effort, reliant almost entirely on uncertain finance and part-time tutors, and indicated there was a pressing need to attempt a new approach. The experience of the highly successful enterprise at Nottingham University College undoubtedly was attractive to the Board and suggested one way forward which it appears to have favoured by confirming the recognition of the Nottingham enterprise in the sphere of Chapter III and by the claim that students proceeded naturally from elementary, preliminary courses to more advanced ones. The provision of Article 11 tutors as appointments of university extra mural departments may be regarded as an integral part of the policy of support and encouragement to the universities to develop further their adult education provision, and as such the 1932 extension of their work into Chapter III courses appears an essential as well as a natural concomitant requirement.

In the Eastern District, the pattern did not quite correspond to this scenario. There, the Cambridgeshire L.E.A. under Henry Morris developed the concept of the Village College from 1925 to provide for the social and educational needs of rural communities. Although Ree claims that Morris was not influenced by the Danish Folk School, he also appears to have overlooked the possibility that Morris had a clear perception that the W.E.A. could not meet the needs of rural areas because it was

> "an urban movement with comparatively little influence in the villages; there is no corresponding movement for advanced higher education in the countryside."[1]

1. Henry Morris 'The Village College' Memorandum 1925, p.1.
H. Ree Educator Extraordinary, Longman, 1973, pp.20-21.

It is possible therefore that Morris, at least in 1925, envisaged the Village College as a rural counterpart of the W.E.A. and with similar objectives for the education of adults. But the Village Colleges were in semi-urban areas and provided a demographic base on which the statistics of school populations facilitated the approval of new buildings, which, of course, were also available for adult, community activities. Apart from the Norfolk L.E.A., none of the others in the region participated in active provision of adult education until, in 1927, the Bedfordshire L.E.A. co-operated with the District and financially supported the county's rural scheme which was initiated with outstanding success by Harold Shearman.

The activities of the Cambridge Extra Mural Board, established in the same year as the introduction of the 1924 Regulations, following the Royal Commission on the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, provided relatively few courses within the District until the assumption of responsibility for the Eastern District's rural scheme in Bedfordshire in 1930. However, following the continued success of the scheme and the introduction of the 1932 Regulations, the Board adopted a vigorous policy seeking additional providing powers under Chapter III in Cambridgeshire almost immediately, and later in Essex and Norfolk.

The effect of the 1932 Regulations was to place the District at considerable disadvantage vis a vis the Cambridge Extra Mural Board in its ability to develop a vigorous policy in rural areas. Although its position in the urban areas was relatively secure, the Eastern District was predominantly a rural area and it was therefore acutely conscious of its vulnerability to developments initiated by the Extra Mural Board and its own inadequacies to prosecute a policy for rural development.

In 1938, and following representation from the universities over the anomalous position of extension courses which hadarisen during the operation of the existing regulations, the Board of Education issued revised Regulations. Extension courses were sub-divided into two categories. The university sessional class was introduced in recognition of a growing practice in which the lecture audience and the class were identical. Under the new Regulations the sessional class replaced the preparatory Tutorial Class and they were to provide studies at a similar standard without the requirement to proceed to Tutorial Classes, and the other requirements were similar to W.E.A. One Year Classes.

University Extension Lecture Classes provided the other category of the sub-division and reflected the continuation of the traditional differentiation between the audience and the class. However, grant was now available for such courses where the total number in attendance achieved a minimum of thirty two, of which number at least twelve students formed the class and engaged in discussion and written work.

The introduction of the Regulations, however, proved to be of marginal significance only as their introduction was followed within a matter of a few months by the outbreak of the war in September, 1939.

Chapter 5

Progress and Consolidation: 1924-31

In Chapter 3, the post-war provision of courses and other educational activity in the Eastern District was considered. In the middle years of the decade the beneficial effects of the Adult Education Regulations and the influence of the new University Board of Extra Mural Studies, began to be felt. In response to this further stimulation, there was a concomitant consolidation of the District as an important voluntary organisation for the provision of liberal adult education courses, following the initial burst of post-war enthusiasm. Growth rather than consolidation was given primacy in the contemporary documents and is most marked in the District's annual reports.

The essential characteristic of most voluntary organisations is the confidence about progress towards declared objectives and in opportunities which invariably lie within reach but beyond grasp. The time-scale of annual reports avoids, or prevents, long term assessment and are largely confined to recording achievements rather than failures. The Eastern District's annual reports for the period 1924-31 were of this type, and chronicled steady, if not spectacular growth as some new Branches were established every year. Others which lapsed into inactivity were always considered to be in temporary decline only and new students groups were invariably considered to be embryonic W.E.A. Branches but few achieved that status. The reports were also typical in that the conventional themes of most voluntary organisations were declared in full measure: optimism about the future, the justice of the cause, exhortations on vigilance for opportunities to be seized, and,

particularly acute in the Eastern District, the urgent necessity to raise funds for further development.

Nevertheless, the District did remarkably well not merely in surviving the economic depression of the mid-twenties but through the considerable combined energies of Wash, Clara Rackham, Helen Stocks, Sophie Green and Pateman seized new opportunities and made much progress. To this group was later added Harold Shearman who with considerable skill, diplomacy and undeniably high talent as a tutor achieved an outstanding success in Bedfordshire when the District's prototype resident-tutor scheme was introduced in 1927. The success of Shearman encouraged the national W.E.A. in its policy for resident-tutor schemes in rural areas and his influence in the nineteen-thirties as the W.E.A.'s Education Officer was undoubtedly a reflection of his experience in Bedfordshire as a tutor, initially with the District and subsequently with the University's Board of Extra Mural Studies extending over a total period of eight years.

Contextually, the period covered in this chapter corresponds to the first of Ramsay MacDonald's two Labour Governments, separated by the full term Tory administration of Baldwin. No Government was able to resolve the almost continuous problem of large-scale unemployment, fluctuating around one million, and which undermined the economic and social lives of manual and clerical occupational groups with which the W.E.A. had developed over a period of twenty years. The economic position deteriorated further with the return to the Gold Standard, and led to further decline, the effects of which continued into the following decade.[1]

1. A.J.P. Taylor English History 1914-45 O.U.P. 1975 Chapters VI and VII passim.

Paradoxically, under these adverse conditions the development of liberal adult education was encouraging. The first Labour Government, in spite of its brief existence, managed to frame a new comprehensive code of Adult Education Regulations in 1924, which marked a major advance in policy attitudes towards the roles of the Universities and the W.E.A. As considered in Chapter 4, the recognition of courses for grant aid was considerably widened and the Districts of the Association accepted as Responsible Bodies for the provision of adult education. Further, the publication of the Hadow Report, 1926, stimulated renewed interest in the campaign for, and the demonstrable need for the development of, compulsory secondary education for all children to fifteen years of age, confirming the W.E.A. in the propriety of its long campaign for such reform in the maintained sector of education and encouraging it to believe with greater force in its influence on the shaping of national educational policies, largely through the influence of R.H. Tawney.[1] The arrival of broadcasting and the early recognition of its potential as a medium for education encouraged the W.E.A., at least initially, to believe it had a constructive role to play in the development of liberal adult education.[2]

In the Eastern District, all these developments were influential during the period, providing opportunities and helping to mould attitudes of the main participants in the progressive growth of liberal adult education. The major District developments were in the concentration of endeavour on the continuations of the two existing tutor schemes, in Kettering and Norfolk, and the novel rural enterprise in Bedfordshire which was to lead to the engagement of the newly established Cambridge

1. See Chapter 2, pp. 127-129 for details of the W.E.A.'s programme for post-war educational reform and Fisher's Bill.
2. See pp. 407-410.

University Board of Extra Mural Studies in courses and classes of an elementary type largely through its assumption of Chapter III providing powers in rural Bedfordshire.[1]

The Bedfordshire Rural Scheme

Perhaps the most important single decision taken by the District in the nineteen-twenties was to accept, through the national W.E.A., the offer by the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust to meet the substantial costs of the appointment of one of three tutors for the development of adult education in rural areas in England. The District accepted responsibility for one of these to be located in Bedfordshire at a time when its financial position was critical.

The possibility of an appointment of a resident tutor had been raised by Mactavish as early as 1923 when in negotiations with the Carnegie Trustees for several funded appointments through the country.[2] Mactavish had invited bids for appointments from District Secretaries and Pateman identified Ipswich, South Norfolk and Bedfordshire as promising areas for such an appointment, each involving an expenditure estimated at £300 a year. Of the three identified, Bedfordshire offered the greatest possibilities. The District Chairman, Henry Wash, had secured the co-operation of the L.E.A. and the record of courses and other educational activities of the Bedford Branch of the W.E.A., of which he was Secretary, was impressive. Further, in February, 1924, the County Council had established an Adult Education Sub-Committee meetings of which both Wash and Pateman occasionally attended to negotiate for increased grant-aid for W.E.A. classes. Their success and the supportive attitude of the Committee led to a discussion in 1925 in connection with the development

1. See pp.334-336.
2. Mactavish's circular letter to all District Secretaries 14 November, 1923.

of a District scheme of courses which was approved by the L.E.A. at an estimated cost of £240. The sum was intended to support courses at Bedford, Luton and Biggleswade Branches of the W.E.A. and to provide county scholarships for working adults at W.E.A. summer schools.[1] In view of the considerable increase in expenditure, the Education Committee prescribed the conditions under which financial assistance would be provided. These were:

> "The following conditions to be satisfied before financial assistance is given to any class or course:-
>
> i. Courses of study assisted out of public funds must aim at freedom from party bias and from any flavour of political propaganda
>
> ii. Such courses must be conducted by teachers who have a thorough knowledge of the subject and have the experience and the training as well as personality and understanding of the students' needs, necessary to impart that knowledge. It is by these tests that the qualifications of teachers should be judged.
>
> iii. Such courses must be open to all students who desire to take them and are able to profit by them
>
> iv. In order to ensure the proper observance of the foregoing conditions, it is essential that each class aided by a Local Education Authority should be open to inspection by the Authority and that the syllabus and tutor should be approved by the Authority or by such other body as the Authority may consider qualified to exercise those functions."[2]

These conditions, which were in addition to those already promulgated in the Adult Education Regulations of 1924, were immediately accepted by the District as they reflected the W.E.A.'s own policy. This was a critical issue at that time, because earlier in the year there had

1. Bedfordshire County Council Adult Education Sub-Committee Minute Book May, 1925, Bedfordshire County Library, Archives Department, Bedford. £70 of the sum approved was the maximum permitted for summer school scholarships. Unfortunately, owing to a typing error in the District Office only £20 was made available for the 1926-27 session.
2. Bedfordshire County Council Education Committee 14 May, 1926.

occurred an incident of acute embarrassment for the national W.E.A. when the Edinburgh Branch had seceded from the Association over the question of the political stance adopted by the W.E.A. in its agreement with the Trades Union Congress and the National Council of Labour Colleges.[1] Baines, the Director of Education for Bedfordshire, was not entirely convinced of the non-party political non-sectarian character of the W.E.A. and was consistently vigilant and cautious in dealing with the District.

His meticulousness was exemplified in the convoluted administrative procedures for the award of the small sums allocated for county scholarships to adult students for periods of one or two weeks' attendance at university annual summer schools. Every letter of application was scrutinised by Baines and considered by the Adult Education Sub-Committee. The Committee required details of wages, domestic circumstances and a personal letter from applicants fully stating reasons for wishing to attend the summer school: all for awards varying in value of between £3 to £5. Scholarship holders were required to submit reports on, and impressions of, their studies and the L.E.A. required a written report on every student from the tutor appointed to supervise studies at the summer school. Both the student's and tutor's reports were also carefully considered by the Sub-committee.

Several sets of records on scholarship holders exist and it is clear that in Bedfordshire, at least, the majority of applicants, members of Tutorial Classes, were manual workers, some living under difficult personal and domestic circumstances. The average wage appears to have been abcut 50 shillings a week, although some were only temporarily or

1. See pp.410-412 for details of the incident. The County Council's conditions were copied verbatim from the Local Authorities statement published in January, 1926.

intermittently employed. Typically, some were responsible for parents or other ageing relatives, as well as for two or three children.[1]

For example, Mr. Trethowan, an engineer apparently in regular work and a member of the Bedford Tutorial Class in Economics, earned 52 shillings a week, lived in 'rooms' with his wife and two small children, because of the local housing shortage. In 1925 and 1926 he was awarded grants of £3 by the L.E.A. to attend the Cambridge summer school courses in Psychology. His tutor reported on his enthusiasm, interest and, in 1926, good progress in his studies.

The Secretary of the Luton Branch, W. Lovett, a coachbuilder had been unemployed for over two months in 1926, when he was granted 55 shillings to enable him to attend the Economics class for a week at Cambridge. Interestingly, his tutor was Harold Shearman then a schoolmaster in Cambridge, and he was not admitted to the Economics class but to the one on European History. He was an intelligent mature student, and Shearman's report reveals a glimpse of the quality of at least one of the Tutorial Class students:

> "His knowledge of literature was brought into relation with History, in particular; as for instance when he cited Tasso in connection with the Crusades and Goethe in relation to the French Revolution. His interest in architecture was another factor which helped to give point to the historical treatment of medieval civilisation. A most stimulating student."[2]

1. The applications were apparently subject to an ad hoc means test and the Committee refused to provide scholarships to two applicants who were teachers in Primary schools in the county. Baines' insistence on procedural exactitude and vigilant eye for any breach of it or inconsistency led to many hours of additional labour for Pateman and, later, Shearman on administrative minutiae. Both fretted under these requirements e.g. Shearman to Pateman in June, 1928 "Baines is a great trial, but we must bear up".
2. August, 1926.

An archetypal W.E.A. figure was E.W. Gurney, a builder's labourer of Renhold, a village about six miles east of Bedford. He cycled to his Tutorial Class on Economics in Bedford, and was a regular summer school student. He was also to emerge as a considerable person in the Bedfordshire W.E.A., writing the Foreword to Shearman's prospectus for the county's rural scheme in 1927 and became chairman of the Bedfordshire Federation of the W.E.A. in the nineteen-thirties. A convinced W.E.A. man, he proved, undoubtedly with considerable difficulty, to be an assiduous student over a period of many years showing "intelligence in discussion, a fair grasp of economic principles and would, I imagine, profit from any further opportunities that may be given him for pursuing his studies".[1]

He was accompanied to the Bedford Tutorial Class by a close friend and enthusiastic W.E.A. member, Arthur Kempster, an estate carpenter cum electrician, who lived in a "tied-cottage" on the outskirts of Renhold. Providing mutual support, Kempster also regularly attended the Cambridge Summer School, usually in the same tutorial group as Gurney. Like Gurney, Kempster had a young family and an ageing mother-in-law as a dependant. One of his voluntary duties in later years was to act as projectionist for Shearman at village lectures, and in this way he acquired considerable knowledge about the development of the W.E.A. in the county, and also became well known, a factor which might have assisted him when he became a county councillor in later years.

The reports submitted by students varied little from the pattern, annually printed in 'The Highway', stressing the unbounded delight in

1. The tutor was W.E.A. Armstrong and from the report, August, 1926, it is evident that Gurney had some difficulty with written work submitted during his period at the summer school.

the architecture of Cambridge, the treasures of the colleges and museums, and the opportunities so rarely available at other times, of quietude for extended study during normal waking hours. Perhaps above all, because it was so different from the normality of life for the adult students, was the overt pleasure in the continuous round of evening social activities, the sense of fellowship and of belonging to a wider movement than the Branch, purposefully committed to the objectives of better educational opportunities for all, and to self-development of its members.

Although Bedfordshire appeared to be the most promising of the counties in the District for the introduction of a W.E.A. scheme for adult education in rural areas it was not unprecendented or unique within the Association. Efforts made in earlier years have already been mentioned and recognition of the importance of carrying the objectives of the W.E.A. to the villages acknowledged by the Association at an early stage in its existence.[1] The twin limiting factors of inadequate finance and ineffective rural organisation prevented development for several years and the W.E.A. concentrated its early efforts in urban areas where the existence of trade unions and co-operative societies provided existing interests for growth and facilitated the creation of rudimentary organisational and communication networks to respond to demands for courses through a community of mutual support and experience.

There were few similar opportunities in rural areas and thus the W.E.A.'s task was made more difficult and expensive to undertake than

1. Details of early schemes were provided in "Rural Work Undertaken by the Workers Educational Association". W.E.A. Publications, undated but probably 1932

in the towns. Some L.E.A.s, frequently in conjunction with the national Association and universities, provided schemes which demonstrated the possibilities for rural adult education. Although a few celebrated rural centres existed before 1920,[1] it was in the post-war period that a fresh, urgent momentum was given to the social and educational needs of rural areas following the publication of the Final Report, 1919; the establishment of Rural Community Councils and Women's Institutes. Both organisations were to have a considerable effect on the re-generation of community life in villages. In turn, both organisations co-operated with the W.E.A., in varying degrees, in the provision of classes and courses for adults. In the Eastern District, both contributed to pioneering social activities in the rural districts and were conscious of the assistance which the District might provide through its educational role. Pateman had links with both, but his limited and amateurish well-intended activities at pioneering inevitably made little impact in the broad, extensive tracts of countryside of rural East Anglia. Nevertheless, his efforts demonstrated that where he was able to visit, a latent demand did exist in villages and with adequate finance and good local organisation, envisaged as an important task of the resident tutor, the prospects were encouraging. Thus, the Norfolk experiment under Newlove became particularly significant in creating a policy attitude in seeking co-operation with the L.E.A.; the District to provide the demand and supply of courses and tutors and the L.E.A. to provide the all-important finance to sustain and develop schemes rather than to seek to make its own provision.[2] For reasons discussed in the previous Chapter, few L.E.A.s considered the claims of adult education to be essential provision and Norfolk belonged to a small group of L.E.A.s who supported salaries of

1. Ascot-under-Wychwood in Oxfordshire was one such centre because of its early establishment, 1909, and the Branch membership of 120.
2. See Chapter 3, p.161.

tutors in rural areas during the nineteen twenties.

Indirectly, the success of the Kettering scheme was also significant in that Miss Green had shown the importance of extending provision outwards from an established W.E.A. Branch. In her case there were two: initially at Northampton and later at Kettering. Although the extension was largely in industrial villages and small towns where the Boot and Shoe union and Co-operative Societies had good local organisation and membership, and thus not remote as villages in East Anglia, her success illustrated the ways in which the Eastern District could demonstrate both to the national Association and charitable Trusts its capabilities in managing pioneering schemes. Although not 'rural' in the accepted meaning of the term, the Kettering scheme was quoted by the District and national Association of the successful way in which tutor-organisers resident in the Districts might be deployed.

In February, 1927, the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust agreed to finance a national W.E.A. scheme, much less ambitious than that proposed by Mactavish in 1923-24, to promote new developments in rural adult education. Three rural schemes were initiated: mid Devon, North Riding of Yorkshire, and Bedfordshire. In each of these areas, a resident tutor was appointed and the schemes began in the autumn of 1927. The conditions of appointment were similar to those recommended by the Board of Education's Adult Education Committee in its report of that year.[1] Somewhat ironically, it was similar to the kind of appointment exclusively approved for Universities when the 1932 Adult Education Regulations were introduced, although much of the successful early experience had been under the aegis of the W.E.A.[2]

1. Chapter 4, p.287.
2. Ibid p.294.

As considered later,[1] the District continued to experience serious financial difficulties and although the approval of the Bedfordshire scheme was welcomed, it was conditional on the undertaking that the £500 annual grant aid from the Carnegie Trust for the three-year period approved for the experiment would meet all expenditure involved and no additional financial responsibility should fall on the inadequate District funds. Because of the possibilities for developing adult education courses which would lead naturally and progressively to more advanced work, and in recognition of the existing close co-operation between the District and the Board of Extra Mural Studies, the Tutorial Classes Committee assisted the District's Executive Committee in the appointment of the tutor.[2] The executive Committee defined the duties of the new tutor as being those of organising and undertaking single lectures, short courses, Terminal and One Year Courses, and Tutorial Classes as required. He should also be able to offer subjects within the field of Social History, Elementary Economics, English Literature and Rural Life. The sense of financial uncertainty about the enterprise weighed heavily on the District and although the grant was assured for three years, the appointment was made initially for only one year, and the salary set at £375 plus travelling expenses for official duties.[3] The co-operation of the L.E.A. had been secured earlier in the year and the impending appointment welcomed.[4]

H.C. Shearman was appointed as from 1 September, 1927 and moved from Cambridge where he had been a teacher, to Willington, a small village

1. See pp.416-418.
2. Eastern District Executive Committee Minute Book No.1 19 February, 1927.
3. Ibid.
4. Pateman had informed Baines about the approval to the scheme in April, 1927. On the 26 April, 1927, the Adult Education Sub-committee welcomed the proposal, and had already included £140 in its 1927-28 estimates for existing W.E.A. classes principally in the four main towns in the county: Bedford, Luton, Biggleswade and Dunstable.

near Bedford.[1] A conference to launch the scheme in Bedford was arranged by the local Branch at which Baines, Glazier, the County Librarian and former part-time W.E.A. tutor in Northamptonshire, and Liddle, Headmaster of Bedford Modern School and Chairman of the Bedford Branch of the W.E.A., were in attendance and the county's weekly newspaper provided generous publicity.[2]

In the first year of the scheme, Shearman's policy was to concentrate on establishing contacts in villages through public meetings, lectures, and short courses only, establishing nuclei of people in Student Groups prior to the attempt to establish Branches. Although he was extremely busy, Shearman conducted a One Year course at Rushden, arranged by Miss Green, which served to underline the importance attached to establishing his presence in the District as well as in Bedfordshire without becoming too involved in the mechanisms of Branch formation or

1. Harold Shearman attended a village school in Northamptonshire and gained a First in History at St. Edmund Hall, Oxford University, following service as a Flying Officer in the R.F.C. (later R.A.F.) during the 1914-18 war. He became the national Education Officer for the W.E.A. in 1935 and embarked on a political career in local government which culminated in his becoming Chairman of the Greater London Council in the mid-nineteen sixties. He also was a member of the Robbins Committee on Higher Education and is celebrated for the unusual distinction in that his minority report opposing the establishment of two Ministers for Education was adopted by the government in 1963 in preference to the view of the Committee's recommendations. He was subsequently knighted, but never Director of Education for the London County Council as Welch claims (op.cit. p.149).
2. The Bedfordshire Times and Independent' 2 September, 1927.
   "During most of his life Mr. Shearman has been in close touch with village life in different parts of the country, and he will shortly be moving with his family to Willington, in order to be within easy reach of all parts of the area which he is to serve.... The new Tutor-Organiser is prepared to give single lectures and short courses of three or four lectures on a variety of subjects connected with history, literature, social economics and problems of the modern world.... It is hoped that these will lead to the formation of study groups to follow out some subject in more detail, in courses lasting over twelve or twenty weeks.... The W.E.A. will welcome the co-operation of persons who are willing to assist in the arrangements for lectures and study groups in the villages during the ensuing autumn and winter months..."

too closely associated with particular villages in the county. The wisdom of the strategy quickly proved itself. The original intention had been that he should restrict his activities to the small towns and villages within a twenty-mile radius of Bedford, but excluding the county town iitself. It was apparent within a matter of weeks following his appointment that even this limited area was too large to meet the demand for lectures and short courses, and the southern half of the county had to remain virtually unvisited during the three-year period.

Almost immediately after his appointment, Shearman had an excellent publicity leaflet printed containing general information about the work of the W.E.A., the Eastern District, and a prospectus of the single lectures and short courses, some twenty altogether, which were available. Some lectures were illustrated by lantern slides and the leaflet included photographs of Shearman and W.E.A. groups in Bedford and at the Cambridge summer school.[1] The approach was professionally sound and contrasted sharply with Pateman's attempts in Cambridgeshire villages a few years earlier.

Table 4 below indicates both the growth in, and type of, courses provided by Shearman during the period funded by the Carnegie Trustees.

During this period, Shearman did not arrange or conduct any Tutorial Classes. No rural Branches of the W.E.A. were formed because he preferred to organise active Student Groups out of which he believed Branches would naturally emerge. In this he was to be disappointed.[2] Sandy was the first Student Group to form a W.E.A. Branch, but not until 1934, followed

1. See Appendix No. 2 for a reproduction of the leaflet. Pateman is on the extreme left of the middle row in the central photograph in the leaflet.
2. Conversation with Shearman, May, 1967.

Table 4

The Carnegie Trust/W.E.A. Rural Scheme[1]

Eastern District & Bedfordshire 1927-30

Courses	1927-28	1928-29	1929-30
One Year		1	5 (1)
Terminal		6 (4)	9 (4)
Short Courses	11	5 (3)	9 (5)
Single Lectures:			
a. Public/General	38	32 (26)	-
b. Women's Institute	14	16	1
Wireless Listening Groups			4 (1)

Note: Shearman gave all the lectures and courses except in those columns where there are two sets of figures. The figure enclosed within brackets are the lectures and courses undertaken by Shearman.

1. The Table has been compiled from annual reports of the period.

by Leighton Buzzard in 1936, by which date Shearman had left the District to become the national Education Officer for the W.E.A. Neither could be described as 'villages' although both had a continuous record of courses from 1928.

Initially from Willington and later from Caldecote, Shearman ranged widely in his Morris 8, often pursuing contacts passed on to him by Wash, Pateman or arising from the distribution of his leaflet. For example, at Harrold, a village on the Northamptonshire border, a village Listening-in Group led to an enquiry to the resident tutor who, in turn, arranged a Terminal Course in the village in the 1928-29 session.[1] Similarly, the Rover Scouts Troop at Leighton Buzzard called for assistance with their studies in Local Government and through Arthur Kempster, a Student Group was formed and the Troop affiliated to the Eastern District. In 1929-30, three villages arranged short courses in conjunction with local centres of the League of Nations Union; others arranged meetings with the Young Farmers' Clubs and visits to social functions at the Bedford and Rushden Branches of the W.E.A. were also arranged. Visits to London were not uncommon following short and Terminal courses: two branches linked up for a visit to a debate at the House of Commons, others arranged theatre visits to Cambridge and Oxford, and at Dean, a remote village in North Bedfordshire more than 20% of the entire population were registered members of Shearman's Terminal Course on Local History.[2]

More substantial activities gradually emerged. At Sandy, One Year courses eventually led to a Tutorial Class in 1933; at Colmworth Eaton

1. The early influence of the B.B.C. is discussed briefly on pp.407-410.
2. See Appendix No. 3 for a contemporary account of an evening at a course in a Bedfordshire rural centre.

Socon, Harrold, and Toddington similar classes were established in the third and final year of the rural scheme under the Carnegie Trust grant, but the majority of courses were short and Terminal ones. The desired three year Tutorial Class remained an elusive achievement, even with the advantage of a resident tutor, reflecting a trend which had been evident in the country at large during the later years of the decade, not merely in rural areas but in industrial centres as well. Even with an outstandingly successful and persuasive tutor it was not possible to generate the missionary enthusiasm for the Tutorial Class as a routeway to the educated participative democracy and which had characterised the early years of the W.E.A. Many rural dwellers were too firmly habituated in the inertial weight of tradition, only slowly changing in the countryside beyond the commuter's influence, and the stable social structure in such villages did little to suggest that the W.E.A. could be an active agent in social change. Bedford itself had, at that time, little commuter traffic: the public road transport services were not fully developed, the roads to many villages unmetalled, and car-ownership insignificant in rural Bedfordshire. These developments were largely introduced in the post-1945 period when villages in north and mid-Bedfordshire developed commuter social groups of business and professional people, bringing with them, as elsewhere, expectations of and a demand for urban services in rural areas.[1]

Nevertheless, Shearman's activities represented one of the elements of change in the initiation of outside influences on rural life which stimulated the development of new attitudes towards, and provided opportunities to consider, social development. Some small indices are

1. As Assistant Director for Education in Bedfordshire in the mid-1960s, the writer recalls a few of the northern villages being accessible only by car and others served by bus once a day.

discernible in the lists of subjects chosen and enthusiasm for the courses in villages. Apart from conventional topics such as local history, central and local government and English Literature, current interests were reflected in courses on International Relations, Psychology, Health and Hygiene and developments in Science. Inevitably, the number of subjects selected also closely reflected Shearman's own academic background and interests as an Historian. The selection also represented the interests of lecturers available to provide courses in villages. Car ownership, or taxi service, was essential for tutors travelling to the remote villages; public transport road services were rarely convenient for evening courses, and the train service only available to a few villages in the county. Shearman invariably conducted courses in the more remote villages, and other tutors, some eighteen during the three year period, were either teachers at local schools, car-owning tutors, or able to reach centres by some form of public transport.[1]

As is shown in Table 4, the main burden of the teaching was borne by Shearman whose diplomacy, energy and teaching ability impressed everyone. Not only did he arrange all the classes but he organised visits in connection with the courses he conducted and arranged social contacts between centres in the county and further afield. By the end of the third year of the rural scheme in 1930 more than 500 students had enrolled in classes in twenty three rural centres and four wireless Listening-in Groups were established. In addition, in late 1929 and in

1. For example, lectures and short courses at villages such as Carlton, Colmworth, Dean, Riseley, Swineshead and Millbrook were always conducted by Shearman because of their remoteness. Other centres near Bedford, or Biggleswade were more accessible to tutors, some of whom were local teachers. At Goldington, near Bedford and now a suburb of the town, Mrs. Mary Adams of Cambridge conducted a short course in 1929.
See Appendix 3 for an example of his experience.

conjunction with the Bedford and other county W.E.A. Branches, Shearman encouraged the establishment of a W.E.A. county Federation of Branches, Student Groups and affiliated societies to provide a cohesive, co-operative county organisation to stimulate further growth of the W.E.A.

Towards the end of the third and final year of the appointment, a conference was held in Bedford, attended by more than 200 representatives of Branches and Student Groups in the county. The purpose was to review the experimental scheme and the meeting quickly went to the heart of the matter. There was an unanimous view that the project had been wholly beneficial to village life: a broadening of interest in historical and current affairs had stimulated many people in villages, providing a consciousness of a world beyond their own geographical, social and personal limitations. Mansbridge who attended, was in one of his messianic moods and caught the mood of optimism and gratitude of the conference. He gave an inspired address of encouragement and commendation. The conference ended with a recommendation that efforts should be made within the county to retain an outstanding tutor who had been both architect and pilot of the scheme and to establish it on a more secure, permanent basis.

Even discounting the fervour of a sectional group, there could be little doubt that the scheme had been a considerable success from almost every standpoint. If it is accepted that it would necessarily take longer to stimulate Tutorial Class activities than the two years in which Shearman had arranged courses following the introductory, exploratory year in a county, unknown to him prior to his appointment, the project had been thoroughly planned and executed. From its inception, the scheme had enjoyed the full support of the L.E.A. which also continued to provide grant-aid for classes in W.E.A. Branches in the towns, excluded from the

rural programme of development. The County Librarian, George Glazier, had provided books for classes, conscious of their importance from his own experience as a part-time tutor in Northamptonshire. H.W. Liddle, Head of Bedford Modern School, had given the W.E.A. in Bedford both status and academic credibility as well as his considerable abilities in its development through the Bedford Branch. Henry Wash was not only Secretary of the Branch but also a well-liked, personable Chairman of the Eastern District. The confluence of all these not inconsiderable influences both in the town and county, in conjunction with Shearman's many and outstanding qualities - academic, war-time service, teaching ability, commitment to the W.E.A. and diplomacy - created a consensual understanding and desire to continue the existing scheme, financed from alternative sources. The demand from the scattered communities in mid and north Bedfordshire which could not be met by Shearman and other tutors after a period of three years, and the recognition that apart from occasional lectures to Women's Institutes, the south of the county awaited development prompted an examination of the possibilities of an appointment for Shearman with the L.E.A.

It had been assumed by the Carnegie Trustees that after the three-year period, all experimental schemes would have been sufficiently successful for the assumption of financial responsibility to pass to the L.E.A.s. There appears to have been no preliminary suggestion to this effect prior to the schemes being launched, but the Carnegie Trustees recommended the Bedfordshire L.E.A. to do so in 1930 when its responsibilities were nearing termination. There was every support for continuation from the Adult Education Sub-committee. The scheme had "been conducted on sound lines, was distinctly encouraging, that the

particular tutor-organiser was exactly the right person required."[1]

However, it appeared doubtful if the County Council would accept an appropriate recommendation from its own sub-committee, presumably after some informal soundings of opinion had been taken. The principle of the appointment of Shearman as a tutor with the L.E.A. appeared to have been the unacceptable element in devising an alternative scheme under the responsibility of the Authority, simply because there was no existing approved establishment for an appointment in adult education. There was no personal problem of Shearman's acceptability.

Alternatives had to be considered, the most obvious of which was to engage the interest of the Board of Extra Mural Studies at Cambridge University, members of which had been involved in Shearman's appointment in 1927. G.F. Hickson, who had replaced Cranage as Secretary to the Board in 1928, proposed a joint scheme between the University Board and the L.E.A. It is probable that at this stage, Hickson was examining ways in which the Board might become more closely involved in developments in adult education within the region served by the University, but previously undeveloped because of the University's traditional wider responsibilities as a national university. Changes elsewhere were forcing re-consideration of that position in the sphere of university extension, a process undoubtedly accelerated by the departure of Cranage to Norwich in 1928.[2] Hickson was also impressed with the developments pioneered by Peers at Nottingham earlier in the decade and which were being emulated by some other university departments of extra-mural studies.[3] The successful pilot scheme in Bedfordshire offered an attractive

1. Bedfordshire County Council Adult Education Sub-committee Minutes: Report of Director of Education 6 July, 1934.
2. Consideration of the influences involved is on pp. 356-358.
3. Discussion with Pateman, November, 1965.

opportunity to introduce similar arrangements at Cambridge and a second step in the broadening of the base of extra-mural activities within the university's own immediate region, the first tentative step having already been taken in a limited way with the Rural Community Council for Cambridgeshire.[1]

Bedfordshire represented a substantial policy advance for the University Board and the decision was welcomed equally enthusiastically by the L.E.A. and the Eastern District as it secured continuity of a successful enterprise, encouraged by the former and initiated by the latter. This was the central consideration for both bodies. For the Bedfordshire L.E.A., it was not a question of funding the scheme which had been problematical, a somewhat untypical L.E.A. response at that time, but rather the issue of the appointment of a tutor for adult education. Equally, for the District although there would have been major regret at the loss of the scheme, some improvised arrangement would undoubtedly have been possible, given continuing grant aid from the L.E.A., but it was the retention of Shearman which lay at the core of concern. He was the only full-time member of the District's tutorial staff who commanded both academic and experiential respect at all levels - in the counsels of the District Committee, out in the field among students, and academically acceptable to the Board of Extra Mural Studies. Shearman represented for the Eastern District a symbol of combined academic status and complete acceptability among the adult students: the District could ill-afford to lose him. On the other hand, for financial reasons, the District could not retain his services and thus the University Board's offer resolved the major difficulties facing the two agencies involved in the original scheme almost precisely in ways which would have been

1. See p. 360.

difficult to surpass.

It also provided other solutions. There had been disagreement between the L.E.A. and the District in earlier years over the scale of fees paid to lecturers conducting W.E.A. classes; significantly higher than the scale available to teachers of L.E.A. evening classes paid under the Technical Regulations. The sharp disagreement arose over the L.E.A.'s agreed scales of grants available to meet deficits on W.E.A. classes in the urban centres in the county. In Baines' view the deficits "are caused mainly (if not entirely) by these extravagant payments to tutors".[1] When the L.E.A. reached agreement with the Board of Extra Mural Studies in 1930 over the rural areas scheme, it seized the opportunity to revise its deficiency payment grant-scale to W.E.A. classes in urban centres. The scale was halved, on the grounds that finance for the new arrangements for the rural areas scheme had to be met. The District could not disagree and offered no objection to the reduction, since the funds made available under the new scale to continue to be devoted to the development of adult education.[2]

Under the revised arrangements, it was estimated that if the L.E.A. contributed one-half of Shearman's salary to match the Board of Education grant which it would receive, its net outlay would be £225 a year. Taken with the new deficiency payment scale and the limit to be fixed on other

1. Bedfordshire County Council Adult Education Committee. Report by the Director of Education 22 November, 1929.
2. Before the agreement with the Board of Extra Mural Studies for the continuation of the rural scheme, the L.E.A. grant scale was as follows, with the post-1930 revised scale shown in brackets: Tutorial Class £20 (£10), One Year Course £15 (£7.10s.), Terminal Course £5 (£2.10s.). The annual grant to the W.I. was also reduced from £20 to £10 a year, and the maximum permitted expenditure in any one year was £100, of which £75 was available for courses, £15 for summer school bursaries, and £10 for the W.I. In 1929-30 the total cost to the L.E.A. for similar support had been £285.

heads of expenditure for adult education of £100, the L.E.A.'s financial commitment would be £325. Thus for less than an additional £50 a year, the Bedfordshire rural scheme could be continued and the county shown to be acceding to the expressed wishes of many people and publicly responding to the Carnegie Trustees who had generously provided £1,500 towards adult education in the county during the previous three years. The proposal was approved by the Education Committee for a further three-year period from the 1930-31 session and continuity secured.

The question of continuity of the arrangements was of even greater significance to the Eastern District. Apart from the considerable recognition that accrued from the passing on of its successful initiative to the joint control of the Bedfordshire L.E.A. and the University's Board of Extra Mural Studies, in itself a no table achievement, the District had been encouraged by Ernest Green, then Assistant General Secretary of the national W.E.A., to believe that, if the Bedfordshire scheme were continued beyond the experimental period, the Carnegie Trustees would provide a similar grant to the District for a further three years for the development of another rural area in the region.[1]

The pressure on the District to secure alternative arrangements for the Bedfordshire experiment was therefore considerable. The District Executive Committee, at Pateman's prompting, authorised him to discuss informally with Hickson the possibility of the Board's assuming responsibility for the Bedfordshire scheme.[2] Shortly afterwards Wash and Pateman learned that the L.E.A. were to include financial provision for a further three-year period to continue the rural scheme.[3] The

1. This was the East Suffolk Scheme and is considered in Chapter 6,
2. Minute Book No. 2 District Executive Committee Minutes October, 1929.
3. Reported to the District Executive Committee 14 December, 1929.

possibility that the Board of Extra Mural Studies might assume responsibility for the Bedfordshire scheme, and consider the general development of a policy for rural adult education came with the decision by the Board to establish an ad hoc sub-committee for this purpose.[1]

Somewhat curiously, and inexplicably, no record of the precise arrangements was made of the Board's agreement to assume responsibility for the District's role in the Bedfordshire rural scheme. For example, there is no formal recording of the arrangement in the minutes of the District's Executive Committee other than the presentation of a fait accompli. The 1930-31 annual report of the Eastern District, published virtually a year after the agreement was reached on the transfer of the Bedfordshire scheme to the Board of Extra Mural Studies merely records its continuation through the co-operation of the Board and the L.E.A.; with appropriate expressions of gratitude to both bodies on behalf of the District on the successful outcome. Nowhere in the annual report nor in the Minutes of the District's Executive Committee or Council is there any reference to the surrender by the District of its formal position as the Responsible Body for Chapter III courses in rural Bedfordshire under the 1924 Adult Education Regulations.

A search of the existing formal records of the District, which are in this respect complete, has failed to reveal any explicit reference to a conscious and deliberate decision to recognise the Board of Extra Mural Studies as the Responsible Body for Chapter III courses in Bedfordshire. The issue was an important one and at that time, the W.E.A. as a national Association was pressing for the retention of its Chapter III providing powers on the eve of the Board's intended review

1. Reported at the same meeting of the District Executive Committee 14 December, 1929. See pp.361-364 for details of Hickson's memorandum February, 1930.

of the 1924 Regulations and the promulgation of the new ones. No other District had permitted such a fundamental encroachment other than those within the officially recognised and exceptionally approved arrangements in the East Midlands under the Nottingham University College experiment devised by Peers, although some years later, Thompson was to inform Jacques of his struggle to maintain Chapter III powers in the Yorkshire District during the nineteen twenties.[1] However, in the Eastern District it appears to have occurred with the acquiescence of the principal District officers who failed, for a variety of reasons amongst which must be acknowledged the possibility that it was not regarded as an issue of fundamental significance, to acquaint the District Council and obtain its approval. It seems doubtful that Wash and Pateman were not fully aware of the implications of the surrender of providing powers in Bedfordshire.[2] In addition to being respectively Chairman and Secretary of the District both attended meetings of the Board of Extra Mural Studies. Further, the implications of the University's assumption of responsibility were clear, if implicitly subsumed, in the reference to the arrangements whereby the Board of Extra Mural Studies would assume responsibility for One Year and Terminal courses as well as Tutorial Classes so that the complete scheme in Bedfordshire could be maintained as it had developed, without modification.[3]

1. See Chapter 8 ,
2. Both were present at a Board meeting on 7 February, 1930, when the Hickson memorandum was discussed which contained a direct reference to the proposal that the Board might seek recognition as a Responsible Body for Chapter III courses in rural areas. See p.363.
3. Reported to District Executive Committee 20 September, 1930, some two months after Shearman had been appointed as resident tutor, in Bedfordshire by the Board of Extra Mural Studies. As there were no Tutorial Classes at that time in the county, and as Shearman's impressive record of work, which it was hoped he would continue and extend, was based on One Year and, especially, Terminal courses, it was obviously intended and known that the Board's tutor would be providing Chapter III courses. As he was faced with the possibility of transfer if the Board had not appointed him, presumably

Footnote 3 cont.

Shearman did not query the procedural and administrative details of the distinction between Chapters II and III. In conversation with him, September, 1977, his own memory of the period of transition was that although his salary came from a different source, his work consisted of a continuation of the original intention to build the W.E.A. in rural Bedfordshire as a social and educational Movement.

Jacques is unable to re-call ever seeing copies of any correspondence about the relative change in status, certainly none appears to exist in the archives at Botolph House, Cambridge. But Jacques does remember a conversation with Mrs. Rackham and Mrs. Whitmore shortly after he succeeded Pateman as District Secretary in 1935, in which both claimed to have been angered on discovering about 1932 that the District had surrendered its providing powers in Bedfordshire some two years earlier.[1]

The probability of a further three-year Carnegie Trust grant for development in another rural area, might have caused Wash and Pateman to grasp at the immediate and attractive solution without fully considering the full implications of the loss of Chapter III powers and its possible significance for the District. For whatever reason, it is now clear that they did not ensure the District's Executive Committee and Council were made aware of an informal agreement and secure explicit, recorded approval to the arrangement in Bedfordshire. Subsequently, this failure was to have other important consequences for the work of the District and the Board of Extra Mural Studies: a decline in co-operative endeavour, the development of a fractious relationship between the Board and the District supported by the national W.E.A., the first signs of which began to be seen within two years of the considerable satisfaction felt and expressed over the continuation of the Bedfordshire rural scheme under the Board's control.[2]

However, the first dispute arose between the Board and the L.E.A. When the new arrangements were put into effect, the question of the definition of the rural area of Bedfordshire arose in a way which had

1. Conversation with F.M. Jacques September, 1972.
2. The limited knowledge of the District's concession of Chapter III powers was revealed some months later by Ernest Green, who as Assistant General Secretary of the national W.E.A. at that time did not know of the arrangement. See Chapter 7, p. 510.

been unnecessary when the whole of the county's provision for liberal adult education was the exclusive responsibility of the Eastern District. But from the beginning of the 1930-31 session, the District's providing powers were limited to the urban areas, and those of the Board under the rural scheme to the rural districts. It thus became necessary to have some understanding of the demarcation between the two types of areas. Baines, the Director of Education, objected to Shearman's inclusion of Sandy and Leighton Buzzard in the rural scheme as in local government terms both were controlled by Urban District Councils. These had been in Shearman's rural area, 1927-30, although the Carnegie Trust grant had specifically excluded any urban provision, a distinction which Shearman did not always observe, preferring to give greater emphasis to pioneering courses rather than strictly rural initiatives. In 1929, when considering the possibility of a joint L.E.A. - University responsibility for the continuation of the scheme, Baines and the Bedfordshire Adult Education Sub-committee had defined the areas in local government terms: the rural districts were those controlled by Rural District Councils and Parish Councils and he had informed both Hickson and Pateman of the decision. Nevertheless, Baines conceded the defined position on the grounds that continuity was of paramount importance when the detailed scheme was settled in late 1930.[1]

An important issue in the joint University/L.E.A. rural scheme in Bedfordshire was that of administrative control. Originally, in 1929, the L.E.A. proposed a joint committee, on the pattern of the W.E.A./ University's committee for Tutorial Classes, with equal representation between both bodies. However, the Board's ad hoc sub-committee for the development of rural areas had already been established and in February,

1. Hickson and Shearman attended the Adult Education Sub-committee in Bedford in October, 1930 at which the arrangements for the 1930-31 programme were agreed.

1930, a Rural Areas Committee was created by the Board of Extra Mural Studies, which was intended to be more widely representative than merely the Bedfordshire rural area.[1] It was also concerned immediately with rural development in Cambridgeshire. With the position pre-empted, a separate arrangement with Bedfordshire was resisted and in October, 1930, it was agreed that two councillors from the county council would represent its interests on the Rural Areas Committee. Baines attended meetings in an advisory capacity to assist in the administration of the Bedfordshire scheme.

Superficially, the development in connection with the Board of Extra Mural Studies' growing interest in rural adult education in East Anglia with its implications for courses of lower standards than hitherto provided; the combination of the Rural Community Council in Cambridgeshire and the District's approaches to the Board to assume responsibility for pioneering initiatives in Bedfordshire appeared to be adventitious and generous. On closer examination, it is possible to assume that the recommendations of the 1927 Board of Education Adult Education Committee Paper No. 9 had been absorbed and regarded as an invitation at Cambridge to pursue a policy of increased University provision in new enterprises in adult education.[2] The successful Nottingham model provided an admirable exemplar for the young Secretary of the Cambridge Board, who was impressed by its comprehensive span of provision and control. Concurrently, the traditional university extension provision by Cambridge

1. See p.362.
2. The Report is considered in Chapter 4,
   The evidence for Hickson's desire to promote a development of a policy of University intervention in Chapter III provision is revealed in a memorandum which he prepared for the Board of Extra Mural Studies in February, 1930, the recommendations of which were intended to give him a largely free hand in the expansion of provision in rural areas, but which were resisted by some members of the Board. See pp. 362-363. for details.

throughout the country was declining at a measurable and irreversible rate.[1] The ready acceptance by Hickson of the solution to the problem of the continuation of the W.E.A.'s Bedfordshire rural scheme, the refusal to consider specific arrangements for its control in 1930 separately with that L.E.A., the establishment of a broadly representative Rural Areas Committee, and the separate appointment of a tutor for Northamptonshire, in which county the District's most extensive and successful Chapter II and Chapter III activities already existed, suggest the development of a strategy for expansion by the Board rather than piece-meal aggregation of responsibilities of an altruistic basis, or mere opportunism.[2] If these assumptions are correct, then the appointment of Pateman in 1935 as Assistant Secretary to the Board, to a vacancy which had existed since 1928, represented the final element in the policy, which developed after 1930, and which, but for the determination of several tenacious members of the W.E.A. at District and national levels in the W.E.A. might have led to the loss of Chapter III providing powers throughout East Anglia by the outbreak of war in 1939.[3]

From Syndicate to Board

As mentioned in Chapter 2, the Final Report 1919, recommended the establishment of departments of extra-mural studies at universities, each with an academic head, to assume responsibility for the administration of the then existing courses and lectures, summer schools, and also for

1. See p.357.
2. The tutor was Frank Lee appointed in 1931, before the publication of the revised Adult Education Regulations, 1932. This appointment thus demonstrates the intentions of the Board to expand its work both within its own region and in Chapter III courses. It is possible to consider the appointment as a competitive one to the District's provision, since it was the most successful single area of the District's work and the only extensive industrial zone in the region.
3. The protracted, tedious and complex negotiations involving the Eastern District in a largely defensive role over the retention of its traditional providing role in East Anglia are considered in Chapter 8.

other forms of adult education provision which might be developed.[1] The reasons for this major recommendation were persuasive and considerable. The status of adult education would thus be recognised both within and beyond the universities, and more adequate finance for the development secured through adult education becoming a normal and necessary element in the functions of universities. The concentration of formal functions in extra-mural departments would lead to a systematisation and enlargement of the administration of adult education, much needed to replace the existing aggregation of responses to needs which had arisen and a similar accretion of responsibilities. Further, the new departments would not only assist in a rationalisation of provision but the centralisation of expertise, finance and administration would, in turn, generate a new momentum facilitating further expansion on a planned basis, similar to the development of other academic work at universities. The extra-mural departments with full university status would thus perform a bridging function between, and continuous connection with, the university and the non-academic world in which its adult education activities were largely conducted, through intra-mural provision to meet extra-mural needs.

The essential finance for the development of university extra-mural work was to be provided from three main sources: university revenue, central government grants and local authorities. Increased resources were essential to enable universities to employ a larger corps of adequately remunerated staff tutors and administrators, including resident tutors who should be members of university-tenured staff establishments. Further, the Report advocated a development of opportunities for adult students to pursue full-time courses of study, as well as an increase in the provision

1. Final Report of the Adult Education Committee, 1919, op.cit. pp.97-100. The Report estimated that in 1918-19 the total amount expended by universities on adult education in England and Wales, was a mere £5,000, ranging from Oxford's £885 on Tutorial Classes to £76 at Cambridge and £12 at Reading, p.94.

of shorter, intensive periods of study at universities with the idea that the existing summer school pattern might be extended to provide year-round opportunities for those who had completed three-year Tutorial Classes.[1]

At Cambridge University, the Syndicate for Local Examinations and Lectures subscribed to the broad recommendations of the Final Report. It will be recalled that the Syndicate had established its Tutorial Classes Joint Committee in 1913 as a parallel committee to the existing Local Lectures Committee for university extension courses.[2] In 1920, the Syndicate recommended the University to establish a Board of Extra Mural Studies. The Syndicate's main functions of examining and the provision of local lectures had expanded to the point at which separation of the activities would be advantageous to both. Technically, the division provided few difficulties as the functions had been separately administered by two Secretaries since 1891; one for Examinations and one for Lectures.[3] The Syndicate endorsed the advantage of, and need for, an enlargement of the extra-mural function of the University proposed in the Final Report, 1919.

> "The importance of this Report cannot be exaggerated ... (its) special relevance ... lies in the fact that it lays great stress on the indispensable importance of the University to the proper provision of this education"

and

> "a more definite recognition on the part of the Universities themselves that this extra-mural work

1. Ibid. The arguments in favour of increased financial provision for adult education from the three main sources are on pp.160-161 of the Final Report, 1919.
2. Ibid. pp.100-102.
3. At that time the Secretary for Examinations was Dr. J.N. Keynes and Dr. R.D. Roberts became Secretary for Local Lectures in that year. Cranage became Secretary in 1902.

> should be given a regular and important place in their normal activities."[1]

The Syndicate's report recommended that as soon as the required finance could be provided, its activities in connection with Local Lectures and Tutorial Classes should be managed by the new Board.

The question of finance was not as easy to resolve as the separation of administrative functions. From 1876, the Syndicate's Examinations account had subsidised the Local Lectures account, and later also supported the Tutorial Class Account.[2] The cost of each Tutorial Class before 1914 had been estimated at £100 a year, of which some £40 had been provided from university sources, in addition to any notional charge for secretarial and office expenses which had also been borne by the Examinations account. From 1909, when the first Tutorial Classes had been arranged, the Syndicate had made a grant of £500 towards the costs of providing these classes, but the Examinations account was in no position to consider such an arrangement as a permanent one and appeals for donations and subscriptions to individuals and colleges in Cambridge had become necessary.[3]

The Syndicate's report in 1920 thus emphasised the necessity of financial support directly from the University to secure further development of its extra-mural activities, estimating that the proposed Board of Extra Mural Studies would require an annual budget of £4,450 to undertake its work, a figure compiled on assumptions for the provision of twenty Tutorial Classes (each subsidised at a rate of £55 per class)

1. Local Examinations and Local Lectures Syndicate report in June, 1920 Guard Book 1909-33 p.424 C.U.L. and Cambridge University Reporter, 1919-20, pp.56-58.
2. E. Welch op.cit. p.144.
3. See Chapter 2, p.120. In addition, the Royal Commission on Oxford and Cambridge Universities, 1922, estimated that the secretarial and office expenses alone had amounted to about £770 a year. (p.124)

and a tutor group of six lecturers (each at a salary of £200 a year). The Syndicate did not press for an early decision, proposing that action be deferred until the Royal Commission on Oxford and Cambridge Universities, then sitting, published its report.

The Royal Commission

In March, 1922, the Royal Commission's Report was published.[1] It neatly balanced its praise between both Universities: Cambridge for Stuart's initiation of the university extension movement and Oxford for its assistance to a "new development of the extra-mural principle, the Tutorial Class in connection with the Workers Educational Association".[2] The Commission regarded both developments as "vital and national movements which are good for the University that sends the teachers as well as for the community that supplies the students".[3] It also fully accepted the recommendations of the Final Report 1919, on the necessity of enlarging the role of the Universities, and gave added weight to the participation of both Universities specifically in three areas.

First, that the extra-mural educational activities suffered from recognition only as 'side-shows' or appendages rather than as part of the normal and necessary work of both Universities. The Commission considered that particularly at Oxford and Cambridge the inevitability

1. Royal Commission on Oxford and Cambridge Universities Report. Cmnd. 1588. H.M.S.O. 1922. The Chairman was Asquith, who also chaired the Oxford Committee. G.W. Balfour was chairman of the Cambridge Committee. Mansbridge was a member of the Commission: Cranage and Pateman both gave evidence to the Cambridge Committee in 1921. The Commission was established to consider the government, organisation, finance admissions and teaching within both universities and their roles as national centres of higher education and research. The section on extra-mural functions and the education of adult students was merely one of many included in the Report. Of particular interest to adult education are the separately published Appendices which contained submissions from a variety of sources.
2. Ibid p.41
3. loc.cit.

of the

> "Scholarship ladder should always be a comparatively narrow one ... and provide a means of access to the Universities for those who have had adequate educational opportunities from an early age"

and

> "consequently the great mass of people must mainly depend for University education on extra-mural instruction. The Universities are peculiarly well qualified to develop this work, and we are confident that the authorities of Oxford and Cambridge will desire to see that it is conducted in such a way and on such a scale as to satisfy the demand for education as far as possible."[1]

The Commission thus endorsed and emphasised the recommendations of the Final Report 1919, for the conscious and deliberate development of extra-mural education as an integral feature of the normal role of both Universities, a matter more clearly recognised at Oxford than it had been at Cambridge. The Commission then dealt with the apparatus of organisation and provision at both Universities.

Second, the Commission also supported the 1919 Report and that of the Cambridge Syndicate in June, 1920, over the establishment of a new Board of Extra Mural Studies with committees of equal status, one for Extension Lectures and the other for Tutorial Classes. To give substance and recognition to the new Board, a centre or 'House' should be established at each University to provide administrative offices, accommodation for libraries and for adult students to use for individual study. For Cambridge, this was an important and urgent requirement: the existing Syndicate building was over-crowded and library housed in offices and corridors.[2] Equally importantly, to stimulate and facilitate expansion in the provision of adult education, a cadre of highly qualified adequately remunerated full-time tutors should be appointed primarily for

1. Ibid. pp.123-124.
2. E. Welch op.cit. p.144.

Tutorial Classes and teaching in or near the centres where the classes were held.[1]

Third, the Commission considered the financial arrangements which would be necessary to finance the new Board. The existing disparity in provision and expenditure between the Universities was considerable. For 1920, the Commission showed that Oxford had provided sixteen Tutorial Classes to Cambridge's six, with a total income of the Tutorial Classes Committees of £4,210 and £732 respectively. Grants in aid from Oxford University and Colleges grossed some £1,600 whereas at Cambridge the figure of £173 came entirely from Colleges as the University provided no financial support. The differences in the provision of classes were at least partially attributable to levels of income, and the Commission correctly assumed that the provision was essentially a reflection of the monies available. It was therefore necessary to secure an allocation of a special grant ear-marked for the development of extra-mural work at both Universities and not dependent upon increased income which might arise from improved levels in Board of Education grants earned on the provision of classes. Such a method of funding would not permit a positive, progressive fostering of development which was desired and for which the Universities had responsibility. Accordingly, the Commission recommended an increase on the Syndicate's 1920 estimated budget to £6,000 a year to promote the developments it wished to see in extra-mural work and to assist in improved financial support for adult students, more of whom should be admitted to intra-mural courses following selection by the new Board of Extra Mural Studies. For such students, although recognising that numerically they would comprise a small group, they should if at all possible pursue a conventional honours degree

1. Royal Commission 1922 op.cit. p.130.

course. The apportionment of monies within the recommended £6,000 annual budget was to be within the discretion of the new Board.[1]

Thus on almost every essential issue for the development of the university's role in adult education, the Royal Commission endorsed for Oxford and Cambridge the recommendations of the Final Report, 1919. It also reflected the views of others about the role of the University and the non-academic world which had emerged in the intervening three years. The evidence of the Labour Party stressed the wider responsibilities of both Universities in national life, but the recently formed Committee of some of the Younger Cambridge Graduates in its memorandum succinctly put the emphasis on the University's role on local extra-mural functions:

> "It is not in our opinion the business of the University to advertise its wares, or to stimulate an artificial demand for classes. But it should be the aim of the University to ensure that no genuine demand for a class within reasonable distance of the University, and capable of being provided for financially, should remain unsatisfied for lack of a teacher."[2]

The national W.E.A. re-iterated the recommendations of the Final Report, 1919, and was critical of the failure to implement them during the past three years, particularly over the establishment of extra-mural departments at both Universities, and increased funds for the growth of adult education as a normal and integral function of university work.

> "Adult education is regarded by Oxford and Cambridge somewhat in the light of supererogation. In view of its proved educational value that attitude, the Association submits is now out of date. The time has come for adult education should be regarded as an integral part of the work of all Universities including Oxford and Cambridge"

and further "at Cambridge the development has been much slower".[3]

1. Ibid pp.160-164.
2. Ibid Volume of Appendices Appendix I(ii)(e) p.56.
3. Ibid Appendix I(ii)(j) p.70.

The W.E.A. pressed for an annual budget of £8,000 at each University, with one-half drawn from university sources, with the aim of seeking provision of at least fifty Tutorial Classes. To avoid the annual round of hesitant, preliminary planning caused by the subsistence level of uncertain income, the new Boards should have assured budgets calculable for three years in advance so that forward planning might be introduced and the dependence on donations, subscriptions and income from classes eliminated.

The Board of Extra Mural Studies

Following the publication of the Report, a year of negotiations and discussion ensued but on 1st October, 1924, the Board of Extra Mural Studies assumed the former responsibilities of the Syndicate for Local Lectures and Tutorial Classes.[1] Of the twenty members of the new Board, ten were nominated by the University, five by the Local Centres Union and five by the W.E.A. In November, at the Board's initial meeting, the Tutorial Classes Committee was appointed with Cranage and Pateman as Joint Secretaries.

Conscious of the differences between both Universities over the expenditure on the administration of adult education, published in the Royal Commission's Report, Pateman was provided with an honorarium for his services in the organisation of Tutorial Classes and for associated work in connection with the annual Summer School. Prior to the formation of the Board, Pateman had received no payment for his work as joint secretary to the Tutorial Classes Committee a matter to which Salter drew attention in early 1923, when disclosing to that committee the District's fears for Pateman's continuation as the salaried District

1. University Grace 10, 30 May, 1924.

Secretary.[1]

At its first meeting, Leigh Mallory's death on Mt. Everest earlier in the year was also reported, and the Board had to consider the appointment of a successor as Assistant Secretary. In December, 1924, G.F. Hickson was appointed. He was to succeed Cranage as Secretary to the Board in 1928, a post he held until his retirement in 1967.

As noted earlier, one of the important recommendations of the Royal Commission had been that the Board should have its own physical centre for administration and for use by adult students in Cambridge. The Local Examinations Committee provided funds for the building of the centre on a site owned by the University in Mill Lane. The building was officially opened on 5 February, 1927, and appropriately named Stuart House. In a celebratory article in 'The Times' that morning, Mansbridge appeared to misunderstand the provision made, writing in a vein which suggested it was a non-collegiate foundation for adult students.[2] Although there was a handsome library in Stuart House, most of the accommodation was allocated to administrative rooms and storage space. One of the

1. The honorarium was £150 a year and led to the District reducing Pateman's salary in an effort to reduce the deficit on the accounts. The Royal Commission's reference was misleading. In 1920, it estimated that the administrative costs at Oxford were £648 and those at Cambridge a mere £80. As noted above the administrative costs were almost wholly absorbed by the Examinations account at Cambridge, but the Commission estimated these at £700 a year. If the basis for the calculation were identical then the administration of the adult education provision at Cambridge appears to have been more expensive than at Oxford. Salter's information was given at the Syndicate's Tutorial Classes Committee on 14 May, 1923. Clearly, the Syndicate was not in a position, constitutionally or financially to take immediate action, but it is likely that the payment of the honorarium at the first meeting of the Board represented a general wish to continue Pateman's services. The £150 was increased to £200 in 1927.
2. The article was headed 'Poor Students: A New Cambridge Foundation'. Cranage believed that a permanent centre was required, and especially urgent for extra-mural students. When built, he encouraged extra-mural students to make use of the library. See D.H.S. Cranage Not only a Dean, The Faith Press, 1952, pp.135-136.

rooms was allocated to Pateman for his use in connection with his duties for the Tutorial Classes Committee and arrangements for the annual summer school. However, his work in connection with Eastern District was undertaken at home, which was officially the W.E.A. office. The distinction was scrupulously observed until he had the services of a part-time clerical assistant in 1928, her wages being paid from an administrative grant from the national W.E.A. Permission was sought and given for the use of her services, mornings only, at Stuart House. In the autumn of 1929, the national W.E.A. was able to provide an administrative grant for the employment of a full-time clerical assistant and Pateman applied formally to the Board for permission to extend the arrangement. Some months elapsed before the presence of a full-time clerical assistant for Pateman's work in connection with Eastern District matter was agreed on a temporary basis.[1] The official address for the District office continued to be Pateman's home in Cherryhinton Road, Cambridge.

The financial recommendations of the Royal Commission on adult education were not implemented simply because the global recommendations on government financial assistance to both universities were considerably reduced, and when the Board of Extra Mural Studies was established the university's apportionment of its government grant was a little over £2,000, a considerable reduction on the £6,000 originally recommended. In 1926, the Board urged that the Commission's recommendations should be honoured because the expansion of its work was being threatened by

1. Board of Extra Mural Studies: W.E.A. File, 1926-64 Cambridge University Library. Pateman's letter of application to Hickson 28 January, 1930. It is regrettable that Welch claims the provision of office accommodation was continued when Jacques succeeded Pateman. This was not so, and a District Office was leased in 1935, almost immediately after Jacques' appointment, in Hills Road, and was never accommodated at Stuart House as Welch suggests (p.153).

financial restrictions.

> "The Tutorial Classes now cost the Board between £1,100 and £1,200 a year, which is rather more than the sum estimated by the Royal Commission. So far no request has been refused but further expansion may now be checked by lack of funds."[1]

The allocation of funds by the University gradually increased; to £4,500 in 1928 and in 1931 almost to the Commission's recommended figure. With the increase in 1931, the Board appointed three new full-time tutors which involved an additional expenditure of £1,300 for their salaries: D.R. Hardman for Local Lectures, W.P. Baker as tutor for Cambridgeshire and district and Frank Lee to a resident tutor's position in Northamptonshire.[2]

In April, 1928, Cranage, then aged 62, became Dean of Norwich, and Hickson succeeded him. With Cranage's departure, the final links with the older tradition of university extension in Cambridge were severed. His personal knowledge and close relationships with the countryside university extension centres, founded on his long experience and frequent itineraries, allied to minimal administrative machinery and procedures were gradually replaced under the variety of changes and new developments in adult education stimulated by the 1924 Regulations and the growth in provision made by other, newer universities some of which owed their foundation to the early success of the Cambridge university extension movement.

1. Board of Extra Mural Studies Minute Book, 1924-41. Board meeting November, 1926. In 1925-26 there were 16 Tutorial Classes and 2 Preparatory Tutorial Classes virtually a three-fold increase on the 1920 position.
2. Shearman's appointment in 1930 was not dependent on Board finances to same degree. The Bedfordshire L.E.A. provided £400 a year, three Trusts (Cassel, Gilchrist and Thomas Wall) in aggregate provided a further £280 and most of the Bedfordshire rural classes qualified for Board of Education grants.

With the youthful Hickson as Secretary, the members of the Board became more actively involved in the formulation of policy about the University's role in the provision of extra-mural education, but the formation of the Rural Areas Committee in October, 1930, appears to have been proposed by Hickson. The Committee was originally established to consider the arrangements under which the rural scheme in Bedfordshire might become a responsibility of the Board at the conclusion of the Carnegie Trust's three year grant. At the same time, the continuation of the arrangements for the Cambridgeshire rural scheme, for which the Board had accepted some programme responsibility in conjunction with the Rural Community Council were also reviewed. Within a year, the Committee began to develop an outline policy for rural adult education for the whole region. In 1932, Professor Ernest Barker, Chairman of the Board's Rural Areas Committee, was considering an eight-counties policy with an emphasis on short courses in the region around the University rather than its traditional role of the development of local centres for university extension throughout the country.[1]

This new policy of regional development for adult education arose from two complementary pressures. Firstly, the immediate opportunity under the revised Adult Education Regulations, 1932, which encouraged universities to extend their provision in rural areas and the exclusive right to appoint Article 11 tutors to promote the development.[2] This policy decision by the Board of Education led to a competitive, uneasy relationship between the Board of Extra Mural Studies and the Eastern District which the gentlemanly, outwardly cordial behaviour of the participants failed to obscure in the struggle for pre-eminence in

1. See Chapters 7 and 8 for an examination of the development of this policy.
2. The revised Adult Education Regulations are considered in Chapter 4, pp.284-294.

providing powers in rural East Anglia throughout the second half of the decade up to the war.

The second source of pressure came from the new provincial universities developing their own "academic fields" for adult education and which led to a gradual withdrawal of the Cambridge Board from its historic position, which it shared with Oxford University, of providing university extension courses throughout England.[1] By 1939, Cambridge was left with only five university extension centres beyond East Anglia, although it had several within the region, some established in the same towns as W.E.A. Branches.[2] Although Cranage's departure also undoubtedly hastened the withdrawal of the Cambridge Board from its national commitment, the development of Tutorial Classes under the Joint Committee of the Syndicate, in co-operation with the Eastern District after its formation in 1913, had tended to concentrate that provision within the District's area. Other universities had also established their own joint committees with their regional W.E.A. Districts and thus there was a nucleation around the universities which tended to increase the power of their "academic fields". For the Cambridge Syndicate this had led to a withdrawal from Tutorial Classes at Portsmouth and Leicester by 1914, which had been arranged among the first group of Tutorial Classes in 1909, some four years before the formation of the Eastern District. When the Eastern District began to develop its activities after the end of the war in 1918, the Syndicate's Tutorial Classes Committee were influenced by the demand for provision largely through requests within

1. The use of the term "academic fields" is adapted from Christaller's central-place theory and the Smailes concept of "urban field" as a geographical parallel to the properties of the magnetic field. It is used to convey the impression of a university hinterland or umland or sphere of influence, but with less precision.
2. E. Welch op.cit. p.148. The centres were: Barnstaple, Derby, Hastings, Rugby and Southport.

the District, channelled through Pateman as Joint Secretary with Cranage, whose main interest lay in the provision of extension courses.

When the Board assumed responsibility for Tutorial Classes in 1924, of the thirteen Tutorial Classes and two Preparatory Tutorial Classes then being provided, nine were in the Eastern District's area as were both Preparatory classes.[1] The development of Tutorial Classes almost exclusivelyfor the region, and the withdrawal from the provision of university extension courses on a national scale led naturally to consideration of new policy initiatives for hitherto neglected areas; to courses of a somewhat different type but encouraged by the 1932 Adult Education Regulations. As Cambridge was in a predominantly rural area, the Board of Extra Mural Studies began to consider the needs of, and provision for, adult students with whom it had little experience since university extension courses, as those of the W.E.A., had developed largely in response to opportunities which had arisen in urban areas. It was also of crucial importance to develop new policies because the Board was being given larger allocations of funds by the University.

Parenthetically, some brief acknowledgement must be made of earlier rural courses provided by the Cambridge Syndicate. Under the provision of the Technical Instruction Act, 1888, and the Local Taxation Act, local authorities could apply revenue for technical instruction. As noted earlier, local authorities applied 'whiskey money' which became available from 1891 onwards to courses in technical education. The South East Counties Association for University Extension[2] received a grant of £3,000

1. Although there were four classes provided beyond the Eastern District there were only two centres, Nuneaton and Rugby, each with two Tutorial Classes.
2. This Association was a union of Oxford and Cambridge local centres in Kent, Surrey, Hampshire and Sussex. The information about this nineteenth century provision is derived from Welch's history of Cambridge Local Lectures Chapter 6 passim.

a year, a remarkably generous sum, to provide courses in agricultural science to be provided equally by both Oxford and Cambridge Universities. The experiment was to last for little more than a year when the local authorities realised that local lecturers were available at one-half the fees charged by university lecturers. From a total of 40 courses provided by Cambridge in 1891 the figure slumped to a mere ten in 1892. A similar scheme in Devon in 1891-1892 foundered for identical reasons.

In East Anglia, Norfolk County Council attempted a variant of the Kent scheme, and the Syndicate provided training courses for teachers, the intention being to equip them as lecturers on topics in agricultural science for rural evening classes. In 1891, about 130 teachers attended Syndicate lectures at Norwich, King's Lynn and Elmham, and the lecture courses were continued for several years on a declining scale of effort and response. Up to 1894, the Syndicate provided similar teacher-training schemes in Cambridgeshire, Lincolnshire and West Suffolk. During the peak three-year period, 1891-94, the Syndicate employed two full-time staff lecturers and about 25 others on part-time engagements. The collapse of these schemes appears to be attributable to the scale of fees charged by the Syndicate together with the high level at which the lecturers pitched the courses. Local authorities realised that local teachers could undertake the work at much lower costs and provide more appropriate courses for rural audiences. Apparently, the Syndicate withdrew from this activity with little regret preferring courses of a literary kind with their greater attraction to middle class audiences.[1]

Consideration of the role of the Board of Extra Mural Studies in the provision of liberal adult education in rural areas which emerged

1. E. Welch op.cit. pp.92-94.

in the late nineteen twenties was an entirely new phenomenon when a combination of the circumstances and pressures discussed earlier led to developments, of which the Bedfordshire rural scheme was the most important both in terms of its scale and its origins. In retrospect, the Board might have regarded it as a fulcrum on which a new policy might be hinged at a critical period of transition from its former tradition and thus it prepared the ground for new developments which were given added momentum by the revision of the Adult Education Regulations in 1932.

In 1927, the Board of Extra Mural Studies had assumed partial responsibility for the Rural Community Council's (R.C.C.) existing programme of lectures and short courses in Cambridgeshire villages, receiving financial assistance to do so from a three-year Cassel Trust grant. The arrangements were also partly financed by an L.E.A. grant towards lectures and the Council's organising work. Pateman was the Chairman of the R.C.C.'s Adult Education Sub-Committee; Hickson and Henry Morris were members of the committee. The Rural Community Council continued to provide some lectures, usually on agricultural topics, but most of the lectures and courses were provided from 1927 onwards by the Board of Extra Mural Studies which allocated a grant in excess of £100 for the extension and improvement of the scheme in about a dozen villages. In 1928 and 1929, Pateman and a young teacher, W.P. Baker provided courses under the R.C.C./Board of Extra Mural Studies programme.[1] When the Cassel Trust grant ended in 1930, the Board and the Cambridgeshire L.E.A. jointly financed the scheme and with the increased subvention from the University, to which reference has already been made, the Board of

1. For example, in the 1929-30 session, Baker provided five short courses on rural history, Pateman two courses on medieval history out of a total of fifteen short courses at thirteen Cambridgeshire centres.

Extra Mural Studies appointed Baker as its full-time tutor for the development of adult education in rural Cambridgeshire and neighbouring areas, principally the Isle of Ely.

Not all members of the Board of Extra Mural Studies were in favour of extending their activities in this direction, presumably being reluctant to undertake Chapter III level work and pioneer courses of academically low standard. In 1930, when Hickson presented a memorandum reflecting the views of the ad hoc sub-committee which had been established to consider the possibilities of assuming responsibility for the Bedfordshire rural scheme and the appointment of Shearman as the Board's resident tutor in Bedfordshire there was some resistance. The memorandum reviewed the successful experiments in that county and in Cambridgeshire and noted developments being undertaken by other universities and the Board of Education's pamphlet on adult education in Yorkshire.[1] The memorandum raised the issue of the desirability of the involvement of the Board in educational courses of lower levels and standards than undertaken in earlier years, but stressed that it was the responsibility of the university to participate in any endeavour to meet the educational needs of the countryside. Echoing the Board of Education Adult Education Committee Report of 1927, the memorandum emphasised that under the guidance of the Board's initiatives, elementary courses would lead to more demanding courses and higher standards. The prospect of grant aid was not to be overlooked. It might be available for work of this type which was "of a special character in the neighbourhood of Cambridge, an area in which they (i.e. the University)

1. Board of Education Pamphlet No. 59 "Adult Education in Yorkshire" H.M.S.O. 1928. The pamphlet was a report made by H.M. Inspectorate in the 1926-27 session. In reviewing the work, the Report commends efforts to establish even closer co-operation between One Year courses and Extension courses, particularly through the use of highly qualified university teachers.

have previously been comparatively inactive".[1]

On balance, the sub-committee believed the Board should adopt a policy for the development of rural areas, provide courses and lectures at levels below those previously associated with its functions. To give effect to these proposed developments a new Committee of the Board should be appointed to consider the means of providing adult education in the predominantly rural areas near Cambridge, in co-operation with the L.E.A.s concerned, the W.E.A. and other voluntary bodies whose representatives might be co-opted to the Committee. Among its functions would be responsibility for the provision of lecturers and tutors, one or more of whom would be full-time resident in Bedfordshire, Cambridgeshire or the Isle of Ely, where the development would extend from the existing schemes.

The dependence on financial support for the scheme was explicit as the total estimated cost of the scheme was some £1,200 a year, towards which, it was confidently believed, there would be contributions from Bedfordshire and Cambridgeshire as well as every likelihood of the renewal of the existing three year Cassel Trust grant of at least £150 annually.

Of the eight listed recommendations in the Hickson memorandum, only three were approved: the formation of a Rural Areas Committee; it should have powers of co-option; and there should be an immediate application for financial assistance to the three local authorities mentioned in the document. Even these recommendations were not approved

1. The Memorandum, marked 'Private' was considered at the Board of Extra Mural Studies on 7 February, 1930, and entitled "Adult Education in Rural Areas"

without division and a vote was required.[1] The remaining five recommendations, involving wide delegated powers to be vested in the new Committee, such as arrangement of lectures and courses, appointment of full and part-time tutors and freedom to disburse funds allocated for rural development were not approved.

Most significantly, and recorded for the first time in the papers of the Board or District which have been examined, the memorandum also requested delegated authority from the Board to enable the new Committee to pursue "if necessary, recognition by the Board of Education as a Responsible Body for One Year Classes and Terminal Courses should be sought".[2] Although it is not absolutely certain that these recommendations were not approved on any grounds other than a natural reluctance to devolve such comprehensive powers to the new committee it may be assumed that this particular one would have been questioned by the W.E.A. members of the Board of Extra Mural Studies, as it represented an unprecedented

1. On Pateman's copy of the memorandum at Botolph House, Cambridge, he listed the ways in which the votes were cast: For 7, Against 2, Abstentions 2. The two W.E.A. representatives present, H.H. Elvin and Wash, voted for the establishment of the Rural Areas Committee as did F.R. Salter, present as a University nominated member. The W.E.A. support was undoubtedly given to secure the continuation of the Bedfordshire rural scheme, and also to ensure the renewal of the Carnegie Trust's grant for the appointment of another W.E.A. resident tutor in a rural area. Two University members of the Board, J.R.M. Butler, a supporter of the Tutorial Class tradition, and Professor Ernest Barker voted against the establishment of the new committee presumably because of a reluctance to extend the work of the Board into courses of lower standards. It appears odd that in view of his opposition Barker subsequently became Chairman of the Rural Areas Committee, although Jacques later confirmed that in the late nineteen thirties Barker had little enthusiasm for the proposed scheme and was instrumental in its demise towards the end of the 1939-45 war. See Chapter 8 for consideration of the proposed implementation of the scheme.
2. Memorandum considered at the Board of Extra Mural Studies, 7 February, 1930 Recommendation No. 3. Although not approved by the Board, it seems reasonable to assume that Hickson continued to press for providing powers in Bedfordshire and succeeded in a matter of a few weeks in further negotiation with Wash and Pateman as outlined on pp. 338-341.

encroachment on the officially recognised position and preserve of the W.E.A. as the existing Responsible Body. It was also significant that there was no reference in the memorandum to any preliminary discussion or agreement with the District although it seems extraordinary that Pateman, with an office along a short corridor from Hickson, could not have known the contents of the memorandum before it was circulated to members of the Board. The fact that he appeared not to have alerted or raised the matter at a District Executive Committee meeting, either a fortnight before the Board meeting or indeed in May, 1930, and neither had Wash, suggests that both at the very least had already conceded much to secure the continuation of the Bedfordshire rural scheme.

By July, 1930, the Board had confirmation from the L.E.A. of the continuation of the Bedfordshire rural scheme for at least three years and Shearman was formally appointed as its resident tutor. With the subsequent appointment of W.P. Baker as tutor for rural Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely and the development of rural work, the Rural Areas Committee had emerged as a de facto permanent committee of the Board. It began to develop a new policy for adult education in rural East Anglia, in co-operation with county L.E.A.s which provided financial assistance, and the policy gained further momentum through the opportunities presented under the revised Adult Education Regulations of 1932. The Eastern District of the W.E.A. only realised that the surrender of its providing powers for Chapter III courses in Bedfordshire had not been a unique gesture on its part, when in 1932 the Board of Extra Mural Studies sought similar responsibilities for Cambridgeshire.

The Norfolk Scheme

As already considered[1] the Eastern District's activities in Norfolk

1. Chapter 3, pp. 162-168.

other than in Norwich, were almost entirely dependent on the efforts of Newlove. He had established centres at Dereham, Melton Constable and Wells the last-named having a continuous record of W.E.A. courses throughout the period of his appointment. With the assistance of Pateman, and particularly Sam Peel, other W.E.A. centres were established, principally at King's Lynn where a new Tutorial Class was financially supported by the county L.E.A., and further development appeared to be assured.

Unfortunately, in the autumn of 1925 Newlove became ill and improvised arrangements were hurriedly required to provide tutors for the two Tutorial Classes and three One Year Courses which Newlove had just started to conduct at the beginning of the new academic year. An intended scheme of extension of W.E.A. lectures for villages under Newlove's guidance was abandoned and never attempted. The intention had been for members of Newlove's two Tutorial Classes to prepare lectures for villages near King's Lynn and Wymondham, and take short courses leading subsequently to Terminal and One Year Courses.

Although Newlove recovered early in 1926, he was unable to resume his earlier punishing round of courses in north Norfolk, and confined himself to the One Year Course at Wells, where he lived. The uncertainty over Newlove's health, and growing reservations in the L.E.A. about him as a tutor, led to the county authority withdrawing its financial support from the District's Chapter III activities, continuing only to meet the costs of three year Tutorial Classes.[1] Thus by the end of the 1925-26 session the Norfolk scheme for adult education was effectively at an end as far as Chapter III provision was concerned and as it was extremely

1. Letter from Norfolk L.E.A. to Pateman, 15 April, 1926.

unlikely that any village would commit itself to a Tutorial Class the possibilities of development in the predominantly rural areas were extremely doubtful.

For Newlove the position was to deteriorate further. Although he was, exceptionally, an approved tutor under the Tutorial Classes Committee, there had always been some reservation about his capacity to undertake courses at that level. In the summer of 1926, his draft syllabus for a proposed Tutorial Class at Wells was given only limited approval.[1]

Apparently, Peel as a county councillor and member of the Education Committee was opposed to the County's decision but bowed to the inevitability that the decision for 1926-27 could not be reversed.

> "I fought to the last ditch for the preservation of the three one-year classes but was defeated by one vote. Then I discovered it was absolutely impossible to carry on so I changed my tactics and have got a definite assurance that the classes will be reinstated under a larger scheme 1927-28. This may make it possible to have a resident tutor again. In confidence, I discovered that they thought it wise to change the tutor from the Committee's standpoint. I believe we can look forward to this promise being fulfilled."[2]

The views of the L.E.A. officers appear to have been decisive in the matter of Newlove's employment in Norfolk and the continuation of the scheme. Lamport Smith, Assistant Secretary for Education, was at variance with Peel over the assurance for the 1927-28 session.

1. Hickson, then Assistant Secretary to the Board, in a letter to Pateman 1st September, 1926, was explicit that the syllabus could have only limited approval and this was given to encourage a promising class at Wells rather than for any intrinsic merit in the syllabus itself. It was also suggested that Joseph Owen, H.M.I. was unlikely to approve Newlove's draft proposal for the Class.
2. Peel to Pateman, 16 April, 1926.

> "The Committee have decided to discontinue the three One Year Classes for one year. These may possibly be reinstated during the year 1927-28, but this is still a matter of conjecture and has to be decided by the Committee.... The two Tutorial Classes will continue during the year 1926-27...."

On Newlove, Lamport Smith was unequivocal

> "... I take it that Mr. Newlove will definitely cease his connection with Norfolk, as there is now not enough work for a resident tutor. I do not know what Mr. Newlove's proposals are, but as far as the County Council is concerned we have finished with his services unless the University decide to re-appoint him. I told Dr. Cranage however that the main consideration for the Committee would be the question of a fit man.... I am afraid that the fact that Mr. Newlove has already gone on so long in Norfolk means that even if he were well we should have to think of a new man with fresh ideas."[1]

It was now clear that the L.E.A. decision was fundamentally linked with the tutor, a position which Peel was forced to accept. Although Peel did not realise the position, there was no likelihood of the District being able to support a tutor appointment unless and until the Norfolk L.E.A. confirmed their willingness to do so on terms similar to those under which Newlove's work had been financed. The Norfolk L.E.A. did not re-instate the Chapter III programme in 1927-28, by which time the Bedfordshire rural scheme had been launched and the District did not press the Authority to do so.

The possibility of the re-instatement of a resident-tutor scheme in Norfolk was kept alive, largely by Peel.

> "Although I have tried to get the county council to move, the Secretary is opposed to the W.E.A. But I shall keep on until we get it established again. Even then I am afraid Jack (i.e. Newlove) will not be acceptable to him."[2]

1. Assistant Secretary's letter to Pateman, 15 April, 1926.
2. Letter; Peel to Pateman, 2 February, 1929.

Pateman confirmed the antipathy of the Secretary for Education in Norfolk, towards the W.E.A. adding

> "that of course will not prevent us from making application for assistance and we shall certainly take the opportunity of calling the attention of the Board of Education of the lack of provision by that Authority for work of this kind".[1]

But little else could be done, and nothing at all while Newlove awaited a possible revival of the original scheme. In 1930, consideration was given to the possibility of establishing the second resident tutor under the renewed Carnegie Trust grant in Norfolk but there was little likelihood under the existing circumstances that the District would make the appointment in that county, and the decision over the competing claims of Norfolk and East Suffolk was probably resolved without difficulty in favour of the latter county.

Apart from the unfortunate personal circumstances surrounding Newlove, his position as resident tutor illustrates extremely well one of the perennial problems associated with such appointments which revolve around consideration of the value of continuity in relationships with students and local people prominent in the Branches, L.E.A. and the community and which are of considerable importance to the development of voluntary educational effort. On the other hand, there are obvious advantages which a fresh mind and attitude can bring to an established field of educational activity together with new material, subjects, sensitivity and awareness of opportunities for additional developments. All such tutors suffer from finite personal resources and wasting assets in the context of extended service within a limited community, limitations imposed both by geography and personal qualities of all those involved in such enterprises. Shearman suffered considerable criticism from the

1. Letter; Pateman to Peel, 10 January, 1930.

Director of Education in Bedfordshire in 1934, as did Miss Green in Kettering and many others at that time and since.[1]

Under the combination of these circumstances in 1926, Newlove's income declined immediately. The fees which he earned from One Year and Terminal courses were low, about £20 for the former and £8 for the latter, his illness which affected his spine and thus his mobility, imposed severe restriction on his ability to travel in connection with lectures and classes and he was effectively limited to Wells and its immediate vicinity. His income was reduced to about £80 a year, and fell to about £20 in 1929 in the summer of which he became unemployed.[2] During the period of financial decline, Newlove applied for a variety of appointments but his health record and the criticisms of his abilities as a tutor became generally known throughout the W.E.A. and he failed to secure alternative employment.

He turned to Pateman for assistance to arrange some classes so that he might earn something. Pateman, to his credit, immediately wrote to several prominent and influential members of the W.E.A., and to Cranage, then Dean of Norwich, soliciting their aid to help Newlove over his immediate difficulties. However, Tawney, Muir, and Cranage were unable either to provide assistance or suggest any possibility of employment.[3]

1. Chapter 6, p. 433.
2. The fee for the Wells Tutorial Class ended at the conclusion of the three year course. This was the course over which there had been unease, and it is apparent from the changing title of the course each year from 1926 to 1928 that it had been conducted as three one year courses on History rather than a unified, progressive subject of study. Not surprisingly, it was the last Tutorial Class he conducted for the Cambridge Tutorial Classes Committee.
3. Tawney believed he should be given some courses while seeking other employment; Muir had explored unsuccessfully the possibility of his return to trade union work with his old union, the Union of Post Office Workers, and Cranage believed the position in Norfolk to be hopeless and confirmed that Newlove was not highly considered by the Norfolk Education Committee.

Pateman and Peel, managed to arrange a One Year Class for Newlove at Wells, 1929-30, and Cartwright, Organising Secretary to the Oxford Delegacy for Extra Mural Studies and Hickson, with the approval of the Cambridge Tutorial Classes Committee, each provided grants of £50 for Newlove in 1930. However, the problem of his employment continued, and the community at Wells could not maintain a course every year simply for Newlove to conduct. Hopes of arranging short courses at Blakeney and Salthouse, a few miles along the coast from Wells failed to materialise. Classes at Wells continued until 1934 when the W.E.A. Branch also ceased to exist at which time Newlove severed all connections with the Eastern District, a matter of little regret to the District or the Board.

Although the Norfolk initiative ended on a disappointing and sour note, and was particularly distressing for Jack Newlove, it had been important in the development of the District's provision. It was notable for the early co-operation between a large Local Education Authority in a rural area and the establishment of the respective roles of the voluntary and statutory bodies, reflecting the principles of the Final Report, 1919, which continued to be accepted for most of the following decade, in that it was the work of the W.E.A. to organise and provide, in conjunction with the University for Tutorial Classes, and on its own responsibility for Chapter III courses under the 1924 Adult Education Regulations. Initially, it also realised one of the hopes of the Oxford Report, 1908, in that working class adult students who had enjoyed opportunities for extended periods of study, in Newlove's case at Ruskin College, might return to be of service to their own social group rather than rise out of it. The experience also demonstrated some of the inherent difficulties in the appointment of resident tutors at a time when the conventional answer to many problems in the provision of rural adult education was

thought to be this kind of appointment. It was unfortunate that the pressure at which Newlove chose, or was required, to work can have left him with little time to prepare and master his topics. Even Pateman was forced to conclude in 1929 that Newlove had "exhausted his material on the group he has had over the past seven years".[1] Further, the academic isolation which Newlove experienced in the constant round of tutoring classes probably affected his performance and he was again unfortunate in not having a more stimulating environment for his activities or the opportunities for intellectual refreshment through summer school tutorships or short intra-mural university courses, the importance of which had been emphasised by the Oxford Report some twenty years earlier.

The early success of the Norfolk scheme unquestionably enhanced the bid made by the District for a Carnegie Trust grant for the Bedfordshire experiment in 1927, although it is arguable that Newlove's experience in Norfolk had little direct relevance or value to the developments so ably piloted by Shearman in that county.

The Kettering and District Scheme

The continued successful work of Miss Green in Northamptonshire led to two further renewals of the Cassel Trustees grant: the second renewal in 1924 was for four years and the third, for two years was, in reality, extended to almost three years through a delay in consideration of a further renewal until late 1930. Miss Stocks continued to act as guarantor and met financial deficits as they arose.

During the third period of the grant, the work of earlier years was

1. Letter; Pateman to Peel, 29 October, 1929.

consolidated through the measurable development in progression from courses of an introductory, elementary kind to those more advanced, sustained and demanding of students. In addition, new centres were opened and the period was one of marked growth in activity. In both these directions of forward momentum, Miss Green played the pivotal role.

By 1929, there were ten W.E.A. Branches in the county, a notable advance on those which existed a decade earlier.[1] Although not all were in continuous existence, in almost every case Miss Green had figured in their formation, through encouraging participation in W.E.A. activities, and providing the introductory courses to arouse interest in some sort of adult educational endeavour. Much of the encouragement and interest came through social activities. Unlike some of her academic tutor-colleagues in the District who emphasised a strictly educational role for the W.E.A. Miss Green recognised that, in her territory at least, the W.E.A. had to develop more strongly its social purpose. For the manual worker, she believed that the W.E.A., if it were to be successful, had to be seen as a social movement with an educational purpose for working people, with limited educational experience and training. For her, the real purpose of the W.E.A. lay in its wider social objectives to be achieved through adult education, and had to make an appeal beyond formal course provision.

Accordingly, she paid close attention to the organisation of social activities in her area always linked with Branch, class or study groups. Through these, many new members of classes were enrolled, and the results,

1. The new centres were at: Corby, Daventry, Desborough, Northampton, Raunds, Rothwell and Rushden. The earlier Branches were at Kettering, Northampton and Wellingborough - the last having intermittent existence during this period.

measured on the limited criteria of numerical growth and rate of continuous class activities, were impressive by comparison with other activities elsewhere in the District. Her organised social activities were numerous and fully occupied the time and energies not already committed to her expanding programme of classes. A regular Saturday evening social for young people had an average attendance of about 100 for several years, with particular appeal to young women factory workers and those in domestic service, living away from home, in or near Kettering. At these socials, music, folk dancing, readings and recitation provided the usual forms of entertainment. Over all these activities Miss Green presided, confident in her own ability to encourage others from social backgrounds similar to her own to become involved in an educational movement of great social and personal value.

Although her own opportunities for continued education were now limited, she rarely failed to attend annual summer schools, particularly those at Holybrook House, Reading, arranged for the training of W.E.A. class tutors.[1] In addition, she attended the Cambridge summer school for at least one week, usually to accompany women students from Northamptonshire classes, especially those conducted by her, and encouraged to go to Cambridge by Miss Green or Miss Stocks. The occasion of the 1926 summer school provides a glimpse of her own pride and satisfaction in her students

> "When I saw all my people at the station, I felt completely overwhelmed. I know they are all going to get a great deal out of this experience, I am deeply grateful for all the help that is being given them, they have had such a worrying time, I do not

1. The attendance at Holybrook House was especially valuable to Miss Green's own work "It is possible during the month there to map out a new course for the next session and to get a good deal of preparatory work done. It would, I am sure have been impossible for me to have done the work I have done both in teaching classes and in helping individual students, if I had not had this opportunity of studying under the direction of a good tutor and having the benefits of their advice and criticisms" Draft annual report by Miss Green on the Kettering Scheme, 1926-27.

> think one of them could have had a holiday this year without help, but I have faith to think it will be a good investment for the W.E.A."[1]

A signal achievement for her was to be selected as the only United Kingdom person to be awarded a scholarship to attend the 1928 Summer Course at Bryn Mawr, College, Pennsylvania. In the following year she became a co-opted member of the Kettering Education Committee. Both achievements in their quite different ways were tangible recognition of her considerable and unfailing efforts: the former for years of difficult, hard-won personal achievement in self-education and the latter for her considerable service to, and success in, adult education, and with young people, in the town.

The recognition had not come easily. The Kettering area was not represented in the inner circles of the District's counsels, and the achievements of the scheme tended to be acknowledged rather than disseminated within the District. Miss Green, not infrequently, believed her contribution to be under-valued and as a person she felt isolated and occasionally misunderstood by the District's committees. The impression conveyed in the annual reports are of full recognition of her achievements, but that derived from the recording of the business at the District Executive Committee suggests the work in the Kettering area received little attention, except when some difficulty arose over Miss Green and her work; a periodic occurrence.

Within the achievements of the District during the nineteen-twenties,

1. Eleven of these women were going to the Newnham College Summer School for Working Women and another three to the Cambridge Summer School at Cheshunt College, where Pateman and his wife were in charge of the arrangements. The reference is in a letter she wrote to Pateman, 3 August, 1926.

Miss Green's record was impressive. Table 5 indicates the growth and development in the provision of the various centres. Apart from Northampton, to which Miss Green gave little attention following her efforts for the Branch in the early years of her appointment, all other centres and Branches arranged classes conducted at some stage by Miss Green, most of them in fact were launched by one of her courses. Although her teaching commitment declined proportionately to the volume of work as it expanded, it is clear from Table 5 that her influence was evident to some degree in almost every centre. Her early disinclination to commit herself to One Year courses and thus limit her flexibility and availability in both terms in each session is also evident from the Table. There was, of course, another reason - a matter of self-confidence in her ability. She was always more confident about her capacity to undertake Terminal than One Year courses, and she had become habituated to the shorter course during her early years when the classes were provided under the Regulations for Technical Schools.

Nevertheless, the ultimate aim was always for students to proceed to a Tutorial Class, and although she was never to take one herself, she was ambitious for her students and not infrequently, as at Desborough, Kettering and Rushden, Terminal courses led directly in the following year to successful three-year Tutorial Classes, which not even Shearman was able to emulate in Bedfordshire. The Tutorial Class was always her main objective: she arranged and conducted courses always conscious that her contribution was to persuade and cajole individuals to enrol for more advanced courses, and in this she achieved a significant level of success during the mid and late nineteen twenties. Unquestionably, in this respect as in so many other ways, her mentor and guiding spirit was Miss Stocks, who firmly believed that the Tutorial Class was the only really worthwhile activity. Miss Stocks put her views forcefully

Table 5

Kettering Scheme 1924-31: W.E.A. Courses

Branch/Centre and Courses	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	1927-28	1928-29	1929-30	1930-31
Kettering							
Preparatory							
Tutorial				1		1	
Tutorial	2	2	2	3	3	2	3
One Year							
Terminal	2(1*)	2*	1*	2*	1*	2*	2*
Corby							
Terminal	1*	1*	1*				
Desborough							
Tutorial				1	1	1	2
One Year					1	1	
Terminal	1*	1*	1*				
Peterborough							
Preparatory							
Tutorial					1	1	
Tutorial		1	1	1		1	2
One Year					1*		
Terminal				1*			
Rothwell							
Preparatory							
Tutorial	1						
Tutorial		1	1	1			
One Year						1*	1
Terminal		2*					
Rushden							
Preparatory							
Tutorial					1	1	
Tutorial			1	1	1	2	3
One Year				2	1*		
Terminal		1*	1*	2*	1	2*	2*
Wellingborough							
Preparatory							
Tutorial		1					
Terminal	2*						1*
Others							
Bedford							
One Year						1*	
Terminal					1*		
Totals of Courses							
Preparatory							
Tutorial	1	-	-	1	2	3	-
Tutorial	2	3	4	6	5	6	10
One Year	-	-	-	2	3	3	1
Terminal	6	7	4	5	3	5	5
	9	10	8	14	13	17	16
Miss Green's Yearly Totals:	6	7	4	5	4	6	5

*Courses conducted by Miss Green.

> "The One Year classes ... don't lead to anything. It is suicidal to put all the work and energy into side-shows and there is a good chance of getting hold of the right people"

who, in her view, through the Tutorial Class would ensure the growth of a strong, vigorous W.E.A. Branch.[1] It is probable that Miss Green shared these sentiments.

At Desborough, although registered as a Terminal Course in 1924-25, the class, taken by Miss Green, met on twenty-one occasions and but for confusion over the new Regulations could have qualified for grant as a One Year course. Some of the fifteen enrolled members continued to meet under her direction as an informal study group to prepare for the following year in which it continued with the study of Literature. In 1926-27, the subject changed to Industrial History and a Terminal class of seventeen young men and women were tutored by Miss Green. The work was of a high standard and Miss Green believed "... it was one of the best I have taken ... and it will almost certainly develop into a Tutorial Class under Cambridge next winter".[2] It did: the subject was European History and the tutor, not altogether surprisingly, was Miss Stocks, presumably prepared to modify her earlier attitude!

Again, Miss Green pioneered at Peterborough, almost certainly at the behest of Miss Stocks who had recently returned from there to Kettering following the death of her father in 1926. Miss Green, apparently cast in the role as herald of the W.E.A., revived the ailing Branch in the town with a Terminal course in 1927-28 and followed with a One Year course in 1928-29, which, in turn, led to a Tutorial Class in 1929-30, as shown in Table 5.

1. Miss Stocks in a letter to Pateman in April, 1923, about the possibilities of a three-year Tutorial Class in Peterborough.
2. Miss Green's letter to Pateman, 4 April, 1927.

Rushden proved to be an interesting experience for Miss Green. W.E.A. courses were a new venture in the town and 25 women enrolled in a Terminal course in January, 1926, the previous term having been spent by her preparing the ground. Later that year a Branch was formed and in 1926-27, a successful Tutorial Class was arranged, the nucleus of members of which had been members of Miss Green's pioneer course. A second Terminal course in Literature, 1927-28, led to a Preparatory Tutorial Class in the subject in 1829-29, and a Tutorial Class in the following year.

The sequence of development was remarkable and achieved the main aims of development which the W.E.A. had set for itself after the end of the war in 1918, and which were to be developed, about the same time as Miss Green's experience, in the adjoining East Midlands District in conjunction with Professor Peers' experiment at University College, Nottingham. That it should have been more successfully achieved in the Kettering area than elsewhere in the Eastern District is only partly attributable to its being more industrialised than other areas. The success of the Kettering scheme was directly attributable to the devoted efforts of Miss Green and the guiding influence of Miss Stocks. Her commitment and dedication did lead, on occasions to difficulties and flashes of temperament. She was prone to moralise, sentimentalise, and frequently misunderstand the motives and behaviour of others, especially in relation to situations with which she was unfamiliar. Under these circumstances her confidence much in evidence in circles with which she was familiar deserted her and her insecurity showed itself through an aggressively emotional attitude.

One such occasion arose in her own Branch when, as a result of the increasing demands on her as tutor-organiser, the District Executive Committee suggested that she might relinquish the secretaryship of the

revived Kettering branch, which she had held since its difficult period in 1921. The improvement in the fortunes of the Branch were due in considerable measure to her enthusiasm for the W.E.A. and apparently tireless activities and to those of the able Branch Chairman.[1] Nevertheless, the District were anxious that all her energies should be given to her primary role, and she was reminded that Kettering could not enjoy the unique distinction of being the only Branch in the District with a salaried secretary when the others subsisted on voluntary effort.[2]

Miss Green resisted the suggestion, partly because she once again immediately assumed there was dissatisfaction with her work as tutor-organiser, but to this was added the clumsy way in which the suggestion had been made, through an informal approach by the District Vice-Chairman who was a member of the Northampton Branch. It would probably have been easier for Miss Green to have accepted an approach made by Pateman, with whom she had developed a good working relationship. He had learned to be patient and considerate over the completion of forms, registers, interpretation of the 1924 Regulations and other administrative matters about which Miss Green had little knowledge and even less enthusiasm. In an almost avuncular role, Pateman advised her on textbooks for her courses, and made suggestions for the improved organisation of her work. Conscious of the earlier difficulties with Miss Green, that she had taken over the secretary's position with Pateman's active approval in 1921, and had done much to take the Kettering Branch to its then vigorous and large membership, the District might have anticipated her likely reaction and handled the matter more deftly, and Miss Green's obvious, adverse

1. Sadler, the chairman of the Branch, was much admired by Miss Green and considered by her as an exceptionally gifted W.E.A. student. "It seems utterly ridiculous that he should be wearing himself out at the forge" she wrote to Pateman.
2. Both Wash and Pateman wrote to explain the position of the District in the matter, 30 November and 2 December, 1925.

reaction to the suggestion perhaps stifled.[1] Eventually, matters were amicably resolved in January, 1926, when the District gave the usual reassurances about its confidence in Miss Green's work and in May, 1926, she was pleased with the choice of her successor, Stanley Dix, as secretary of the Branch.

Generally, there was agreement that Miss Green, very much in her own way, and within her personal academic limitations, was a very successful tutor-organiser. It was a success particularly acknowledged in her own area and the Kettering Branch flourished and expanded during the decade. The local newspaper as early as 1923 had described the activities of the W.E.A. as "providing sufficient learning to strengthen and broaden the minds of its members, but making no attempt to give to their studies any particular bias": a clear reference to the absence of political indoctrination.[2]

As already mentioned, Miss Green was particularly successful in organising and conducting classes for young women, especially those employed in factories of the Co-operative Society and also with housewives, particularly those associated with the then prominent Women's Labour Section of local branches of the Labour Party. She was also fortunate in that the Kettering Librarian enrolled in one of the Tutorial Classes and made special arrangements for the borrowing of books by members of W.E.A. classes. But it was her work as a member of the community, and the gradual recognition of its value by townspeople, which Miss Green was able to use most effectively in developing an awareness of the W.E.A. as a social movement. From her earlier connection with the Co-operative

1. On her own admission in a letter to Pateman, 13 November, 1925, she became "somewhat heated" at the suggestion and assumed the District preferred someone more able as secretary for the Branch.
2. "The Kettering Leader & Guardian" 16 March, 1923.

movement, she was able to develop effective links through their footwear and clothing factories in mid-Northamptonshire, giving talks, arranging social functions as well as providing courses specifically for employees. Her encouragement of folk dancing groups was such that before these were recognised for grant aid under regulations, and this only briefly in the 1924-25 session, she paid the fees of the instructor having received an anonymous donation from a supporter in the town. She always claimed that from this and other activities future class and Branch members were introduced to the W.E.A.[1] Her regular social evenings interspersed with monthly reading circles became popular evenings for fellowship, attracting members from other W.E.A. Branches in the District as well as those to whom the W.E.A. meant little. She also had close links with the Adult School Union, providing talks, involving its members in her social arrangements, visits to the theatre and London on a few occasions each year.

Paradoxically perhaps, her most valuable contribution sprang from her own educational limitations, difficulty with her own studies, and a sensitivity to the individual needs of students from social backgrounds similar to her own. She knew from her own experience the problem of grappling with written work and other forms of study required in some of the courses, and thus gave much of her own time to the individual tuition of working class students which, of course, did not appear in any official statistics or returns to the District office of Board of Education. The difficulty over written work was another reason for her

1. Referred to by Pateman in his draft report on the Kettering scheme, 1931. In her own report for 1926-27, Miss Green's belief in the value of country dancing is shown in that "it is extremely valuable not only for its own sake, but for the hold it gives us on young people.... Six of our group danced in the Northants team, at the recent National Festival in the Albert Hall" and they were "developing the work among the children of our W.E.A. members".

preference for Terminal rather than One Year courses, where it was a requirement.[1]

In Kettering, Terminal courses followed a pattern which she had established: the reading of texts followed by animated discussion with no attempt at written work. "We have had good discussion, sometimes a little too heated, when the subject has been one near home" she wrote in the 1929-30 report on the Kettering scheme. However, several students in these classes proceeded to Tutorial Classes with evidently much encouragement from her. Often they would have individual or group tuition from her at her home during the summer prior to the Tutorial Class in the following autumn, and this ensured that in Kettering, at least, there was an enviable record of two or three such classes in every year during the nineteen-twenties. She did not overlook the performance in Tutorial Classes to which several of her students proceeded, not did her natural diffidence vis a vis academics prevent criticism of tutors. For example, she was very critical of Babington's methods in conducting a Tutorial Class in 1926 during which, apparently, the first hour was pitched at too theoretical a level, with too much reliance on "wit and oratory". The second hour was merely a continuation of the lecture and not devoted, as required, to discussion.

> "He does not understand the W.E.A. point of view, of desiring to draw out the individual in speech and written work. I am sure no W.E.A. tutor would pass open criticism on the essays ... this habit has lost the class several students this year."[2]

This could hardly have been envisaged in the Oxford Report, 1908, by its reference to the importance of contact between the adult worker and the

1. Chapter 4, p. 269.
2. Babington's Class was a first year Tutorial Class in English Literature, and had arisen from Miss Green's Terminal Courses in the subject in 1924-25 and 1925-26. She thus knew several of the students who had, with her encouragement, enrolled for the Class and who were helped by her in their studies.

high standards of the university's critical minds!

She was equally critical of students who refused to accept their responsibilities of the pledge on enrolling for Tutorial Classes. In 1930-31, attendance at Cohen's first year of the Class had dwindled rapidly under his rigorous and exacting approach to the subject.

> "The group is amazingly interested - I am sure he is in the right lines - I have had a lot of experience but have never seen anything quite like this, I feel we are students, if humble ones.... The thinning out process has been a great stock to me, I had a higher opinion of working class thought - but it is that where the weakness lies not in our efforts of propaganda. My idea now is to get Mr. Cohen known in the industrial circles of Kettering - I hope Cambridge (i.e., the Board of Extra Mural Studies) and the Board of Education will be patient with us for a bit; by the end of three years Mr. Cohen will have a following here."[1]

Her stimulation for continued study stemmed from her individual work with students. For several years she provided individual and small group tuition during the early summer months, and in 1931 Pateman estimated that from her own classes, some thirty six students had attended the Cambridge summer school alone and she had been influential and instrumental in encouraging many others to attend from the Kettering and other Northamptonshire classes. The links which she had established in earlier years with Newnham College, Cambridge, through its summer school for working women, held in alternate years from 1922, flourished and by the end of this period about one-half of the women attending were from the Kettering area and other centres such as Bedford and Peterborough at which Miss Green had undertaken courses.

At Bedford, for example, she gave one of her infrequent One Year courses in 1929-30, at the prompting of Shearman and with the sponsorship

1. Miss Green's letter to Pateman, 12 January, 1931. The class completed its three-year term successfully under the tutor.

of the local Co-operative Education Committee. Miss Green was very happy at the prospect of strengthening links between the W.E.A. and the Co-operative movement and was clearly delighted at the response of the class.

> "In many respects this class was quite the best I have taken. It was a mixed class and the students were, in the main, very regular in attendance and conscientious about the work for the class. I had sufficient written work to justify my signing for each student although the amount varied, one student produced some written work every week, two or three others did eight or nine papers - but the majority did much less than this, but enough was produced for me to know that a real interest was being taken in the Class."[1]

Privately, she told Pateman that she was annoyed with the local committee because they confined enrolments to members of the Co-operative Movement and insisted that the course was held on the local Society's premises. As it had been organised in conjunction with the local W.E.A. Branch she would have preferred an unrestricted enrolment in the tradition of the W.E.A.[2]

Under her encouragement and prompting, Stanley Dix, who it will be re-called replaced her as Secretary of the Kettering Branch in 1926, attended Fircroft College for a year in 1928-29; three other students were admitted to Hillcroft for one-year courses during the period and a Miss Clark was admitted to Girton College, Cambridge, for a term's residence.[3] For these and others, Miss Green proved to be a major encouraging influence and she also secured financial support to supplement the meagre grants available. The Kettering Co-operative Society was particularly generous in its support of Miss Green's initiatives with

1. 1929-30 Kettering Scheme Draft Report 1929-30.
2. In a letter to Pateman, 16 February, 1929.
3. In 1929, Dix moved to Lincoln to an appointment as organiser for the W.E.A. scheme for the unemployed. He was financially assisted by the Adult School Union with a scholarship of £60 for his year at Fircroft.

all these students.[1]

The support was even more noteworthy as unemployment and short-time working were perennial problems in the nineteen twenties and some employers were also in financial difficulties. In 1925-26 several local firms discontinued subscriptions to the W.E.A., possibly also because of the additional concern about the growing industrial unrest and the highly publicised links between the W.E.A. and the T.U.C. at that time. A glimpse of the problem came in a letter from Miss Green to Pateman in August, 1925

> "I feel we must try and get it home to our people that the W.E.A. is engaging the interest of the intellectuals. I am quite sure some of the folk in Kettering who should be helping us are more than a little suspicious of the movement."

Again, in 1929, the Kettering Co-operative Boot and Shoe Manufacturing Society cancelled its subscription to the Eastern District because of insufficient funds that year.

Miss Green was apparently less successful with courses for adolescents although initially, at least, the attempt appeared to be promising and worthwhile. In 1926 she formed a one-hour weekly study group for adolescent boys in Kettering to introduce them, perhaps surprisingly, to English Literature. "The ground covered was not very wide, but we worked steadily at one or two books. 'Kim' by Kipling was the favourite". Even more surprisingly, the initiative came from the group of boys without prompting who approached Miss Green for a class. To her, they appeared friendly although considered "tiresome"

1. The Kettering Co-operative Society supported those women who were employees: for example Miss Nellie Clark worked at the Co-operative clothing factory and had been a regular member of Tutorial Classes for several years. Another student, Miss Howe, attended the Working Women's College, Surbiton, in 1927 was also assisted. Miss Green wrote about her "This girl had had special home difficulties and the whole of the money necessary for her private expenses while at college was raised by me."

by members of a local chapel.[1] This appears to have been an isolated occasion, and no recurrence or expansion of the study group appears to have been made. It is significant in that the appeal to Miss Green came because of her reputation as a tutor and success in stimulating interesting class activities.

The affection and esteem in which she was held brought some recognition throughout these years. A presentation of a gift from the Kettering Branch in 1926 was followed by the visit to Bryn Mawr College in the summer of 1928, and co-option to the Kettering Education Committee.

There were other disappointments and failures in her work. Corby and Wellingborough proved to be especially difficult centres for the introduction and establishment of W.E.A. work for quite different reasons. At Corby, then an industrial village at the beginnings of its growth as an iron and steel manufacturing centre, Miss Green had made an initial contact through the Women's Guild in 1920 and in 1922 a small W.E.A. Branch of twelve members was established. Miss Green provided a One Year course, to be followed by further shorter courses in the period up to 1927. The Branch appears to have disbanded in 1928.

This failure must have been particularly disappointing. The influx of a new population into a rapidly expanding industrial centre appeared to offer many opportunities for liberal adult education, but as happened in the rural areas of East Anglia at that time and in later years, the W.E.A. was in competition with local organisations and the local religious and secular clubs were especially active in their different ways to provide a variety of social outlets for people who were moving

1. In a letter to Pateman, December, 1926.

into the area. The W.E.A. was, according to Miss Green, described as an "outside" organisation. The competition for the engagement of the interest by church-sponsored activities was especially acute for the W.E.A. - practical subjects, sewing, first-aid, and recrational pursuits led to difficulties in arranging an evening for W.E.A. courses and attendances suffered accordingly in every year and the small Branch failed to provide sufficient counter-attractions to be successful.

It is also possible that Lloyd, the local iron-master and Chairman of the county Education Committee, might have contributed to its failure because he supported the Branch and might have had an effect the reverse of that intended. He subscribed to the funds of the Corby Branch and offered his services as chairman at an introductory public lecture in 1924 as well as overnight accommodation for the university lecturer. Miss Green believed that "Geology" would be a subject of particular interest to men working in the vast iron-pits being exposed and she wrote to Pateman for a lecturer and possible alternative subjects, emphasising that it must be "something that will interest slow minds, and do not let it be a subject that can turn on politics".[1] This appears to uncharacteristically timid of Miss Green and one can only assume that she was anxious that the W.E.A. should not at that early, formative stage do anything which might prove to be counter-productive to possible support, if not patronage, by the volunteer chairman who might also be encouraged to take a more sympathetic view of the W.E.A. in the county which had given little encouragement to the movement. In the event, the lecture was postponed, presumably through lack of support, a situation which continued in the area for some years.

1. Miss Green's letter to Pateman, 1 October, 1923.

The final Terminal course at Corby during this period came in 1927, when Miss Green showed her commitment and loyalty to her students. The course must have been one of the very few she undertook which failed to earn full grant, but although the number of students was low, only some eight or nine, she was loathe to abandon them, because of their interest in the course, their adherence to the cause of the W.E.A., their contribution to District funds and they had paid her travelling expenses. But the Branch failed to survive the competition from other voluntary groups, did not attract support from branches of the local trade unions and Miss Green was forced to recognise that it was to be one of her rare failures and she withdrew from Corby.

Wellingborough posed a different problem. The original W.E.A. Branch pre-dated the formation of the District and in 1919 it had flourished with a membership of 75. By 1922, it had declined to a vestigial existence as a reading circle, and in 1923 became inactive. Miss Green revived the Branch in 1924 with an afternoon Terminal course for twenty women, arranged for the appointment of a new secretary, having orgamised the women through their section of the local Labour Party. That she took this particular line of approach, clearly on a political, social class criteria, in the town was almost certainly attributable to the existence of an active, well supported University Extension Society whose lectures well well-publicised and appealed to "trades people who do not want homework". The existence of the University Extension Society was a direct challenge to Miss Green who deprecated its appeal to the local bourgeoisie and its overt discouragement of "ordinary workers, as the circular stated that there was convenience for those attending to park their cars".[1]

1. In a letter to Pateman, 3 August, 1926.

Her determined efforts in 1924, led eventually to a Preparatory Tutorial Class with the maximum permitted enrolment of students.[1] However, the class failed to sustain its initial enthusiasm and did not proceed to the anticipated Tutorial Class and the Branch foundered yet again in 1927. She returned to Wellingborough in 1930 and again led a pioneer course which attracted a large enrolment. Encouraged, she arranged a public meeting to re-form the local W.E.A. Branch with the assistance of Miss Stocks, Dallas the local M.P., and herself urging the town to support again the cause of the W.E.A. and participate in the successful record of achievement elsewhere in the county. A Tutorial Class in Psychology stemmed from the meeting beginning its course in September, 1931, and on this occasion, completed a successful three-year study in 1934.

For Miss Green the occasion of the further renewal of the Cassel Trust grant was always a period of concern and tension, as she was well aware that without its continuation her post as tutor-organiser would not be possible. In May, 1927, the second renewal completed its term and the clear success of the well-conducted scheme led to a further extension for another two years. The only difficulty about the renewal application arose within the national W.E.A. J.W. Muir, who had assumed much of Mactavish's responsibilities, was surprised to discover that she was receiving only the original salary of £150 agreed on her appointment in 1919. For the duties undertaken by Miss Green, Muir believed the salary inadequate and pressed for the grants earned from the classes she conducted under the Board of Education Regulations to be added to the salary, and the District was asked if it were actively considering an increase in salary.[2]

1. The tutor was David Hardman, later staff tutor and Assistant Secretary to the Cambridge Board of Extra Mural Studies and an M.P. in the post-1945 Attlee government.
2. Muir in a letter to Pateman, 31 October, 1927.

The District, with iits continuous struggle to maintain its deficit within manageable proportions, had, of course, not considered either of Muir's suggestions and was reluctant to do so. If Miss Stocks had not provided additional funds for the £50 in addition to the Cassel Trust's grant every year in the operation of the scheme, the Kettering balance sheet would also have been showing annual deficits. In principle, there was no suggestion that the District opposed a larger salary for Miss Green, but in practice this would have been entirely dependent on an increase in the Cassel Trust grant or a larger and specific subvention from the national W.E.A. The Board of Education grants earned on Miss Green's classes and courses had been used to meet other teaching costs of the Kettering scheme and Miss Stock's contribution used to meet Miss Green's administrative and travelling expenses. Miss Stocks was placed in an embarrassing position. To support Muir's contention meant even greater personal effort on her part to raise a larger annual amount and she was already fully stretched in meeting the existing commitment. Nevertheless, to support the District's attitude appeared to be ungenerous. Realism prevailed and Miss Stocks, reluctantly, accepted that the existing salary position had to be continued, as she knew Miss Green was "comfortable on it".[1] G.D.H. Cole and other W.E.A. tutors protested to Muir that her salary was too low, and the central W.E.A. executive committee were unhappy with the existing position but in the end the matter was not pressed.

As discussed later in this chapter, the issue raised by Miss Green's

1. Pateman's reply to Muir in November, 1927, indicated that the Board of Education grants earned on Miss Green's courses, all Terminal up to that time, only amounted to small amounts viz. 1924-25 £9, 1925-26 £37, 1926-27 £18. In 1927-28 the grants rose to £33 and with two One Year courses in 1929-30 the grants earned amounted to £73. The opinion of Miss Stocks was in a letter to Pateman, 16 November, 1927.

unsatisfactory salary position, was only one uncomfortable element in the District's overall difficult financial position. The continuing failure of the District to meet even the basic expenses of the administration and organisation of its work was a source of unremitting concern. It was also disgraceful that the deficit was borne largely by Pateman, its only full-time officer, whose salary continued to be paid irregularly and considerably in arrears. As noted later, his salary was also reduced under circumstances not entirely to the credit of those involved. It can have been of little genuine concern to the District's Executive Committee to be told that Miss Green was undeniably underpaid and under-valued when the District Secretary's salary was at that time approximately one-half of the "national" scales prescribed by the central W.E.A. and was in arrears to such an extent in 1927 and 1928 that Pateman's actual paid salary was only marginally greater than Miss Green's.[1]

In 1929, the national Association provided a special grant of about £70 to clear the District's indebtedness to Pateman and with improved financial position the District agreed to an ex gratia payment of £20 to Miss Green from the Board of Education grants earned on her classes in 1928-29. Miss Green was delighted: not so much by the sum as by the significance of the gesture in personal terms. She regarded it as a tangible recognition of the success of her work, and satisfaction by the District with its value in the Kettering area. As ever, she was uncomfortably conscious of her own inadequate background as a tutor, and her lack of formal qualifications. Newlove and Norfolk had been sufficiently removed from her and the Kettering area to arouse fears and worries about comparisons. But Shearman and Bedfordshire were

1. In May, 1928, the District balance sheet had an overall deficit of £294, of which Pateman was owed £80 in arrears of salary.

different. His academic achievement, war service, and considerable success in a county area contiguous with her own had been less easy to accept with complete equanimity and, of course, he was paid a salary almost three times her own and enjoyed the support of the L.E.A. Other than grants towards courses, and these were niggardly, the Northamptonshire L.E.A. did not participate in the development, nor encourage, adult education provision.[1]

Pateman had attempted to engage the interest and support of the Northamptonshire L.E.A. He submitted an application to the L.E.A. immediately followed the successful negotiations with the Bedfordshire L.E.A. over the Shearman arrangements in 1927.[2] It seemed a propitious moment to discuss the possibilities of a similar scheme, and consequential grant-aid arrangements, for existing and new Chapter III courses, and bursaries for adult students to attend summer schools which several students from the county had attended in previous years. However, the Northamptonshire L.E.A. were reluctant to consider any policy for the development of adult education and a conference which Pateman proposed with the L.E.A. did not materialise.[3]

Although somewhat restive about continuative support for existing schemes, the Cassel Trustees yet again renewed their grant for the

1. At the end of the 1929-30 session, the Bedfordshire scheme's gross expenditure was almost £700, whereas the Kettering scheme was not much more than £175, largely attributable to the differences in the salaries of both tutors.
2. Pateman's memorandum to J.L. Holland, Director of Education, April, 1927. At that time, Northampton County Borough contributed £30 towards the costs of two Tutorial Classes in the town, but the county L.E.A. grant was only £20 towards the costs of five Tutorial Classes held in its area.
3. At that time, Northamptonshire was one of the few L.E.A.s still levying charges for the hiring of classrooms and in 1929-30 Miss Green complained about this policy which caused the small class at Rothwell pursuing a One Year course to be charged 2/6d. for each meeting, a severe burden on a small pioneer class.

Kettering area when it was reviewed in 1930 for a further and final two years. To ensure that the grant was renewed the District, while stressing that a considerable area for pioneering courses continued to exist in populous Northamptonshire, had suggested an extension of Miss Green's activities into accessible areas of Huntingdonshire, a county which enjoyed the unenviable reputation of being a remote, backward, sparsely populated area and unlikely to become a viable proposition for independent schemes of W.E.A. activity. Nevertheless, the 'corridor' accessible from stations on the Kettering, Huntingdon and Peterborough railway offered possibilities and already some contacts had been made through Women's Institutes at which Miss Green had given some afternoon lectures.[1]

Miss Green was not pleased with the proposal, but recognised that a new threat to her employment and continued success had arisen when the Board of Extra Mural Studies at Cambridge appointed Frank Lee as its staff tutor resident in Northamptonshire. He preceded the introduction of the 1932 Regulations and was not an Article 11 tutor in the literal sense of that intended policy.[2] His role was primarily for the development of Tutorial Class work and co-operation with voluntary organisations. Although Lee was officially welcomed by the District and its Branches in the county, the appointment created concern within the W.E.A. since in that county there already existed twelve Tutorial Classes out of a District total of twenty seven, which reflected a pattern of vigorous growth in the number of Tutorial Classes since 1927. It appeared to be a curiously odd appointment in the most active county within the University's region and Miss Green again felt threatened.

1. Reported by Pateman to the District Executive Committee 14 June, 1930.
2. Chapter 4, p. 294.

The appointment of Lee and the possibility of the extension of Chapter III courses into Huntingdonshire presented difficulties for Miss Green, who regarded the development as an important step towards her displacement and eventual redundancy. Despite re-assurances from Pateman that the Huntingdonshire proposal had been presented only as a subsidiary possibility and a stratagem to secure the Cassel Trust renewal and her major activity would continue to be in the Kettering area, Miss Green continued anxious and tense about her future, a condition which led to subsequent difficulties over possible co-operative endeavour in Northamptonshire between Lee and herself.

In summary, the developments in the Kettering area between 1924 and 1931 were of considerable significance to the educational activities of the District. Table 6 below indicates its importance. Notwithstanding the existence of the apparently well-founded Norfolk scheme in the first two years of the period and which was then largely replaced, statistically, by the very successful Bedfordshire Rural Scheme from 1927 onwards Northamptonshire was the major and most successful area for the District throughout the period. Both the Norfolk and Bedfordshire schemes enjoyed important advantages which were absent in the Kettering area through the financial support of the L.E.A.s. Although the Bedfordshire Scheme led to a rapid growth in the number of short and Terminal courses no Tutorial Classes arose from the three year experiment in the rural area, and in Norfolk there were only two Tutorial Classes after 1926. By these standards, the Kettering scheme was the most important of the three areas of concentrated effort throughout the decade. Notwithstanding its clear advantages over the other two areas - population, industry, existing and active trade unions and the co-operative movement - all of which provided conditions and opportunities favourable to the growth of the W.E.A. from its formation, the effort to provide liberal adult education

had to be made and carried through as a successful enterprise. In this endeavour the work of Miss Green was remarkably successful. Her commitment to it appears to have been complete and sustained over several years, and proved to be influential factors in the applications to the Cassel Trustees who continued to renew their financial aid for the Kettering scheme.

Table 6

Kettering Area and the Eastern District Provision of Courses 1924-31

	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	1927-28	1928-29	1929-30	1930-31
District							
Preparatory							
Tutorial and Tutorial	15	18	18	20	21	21	25
Other Courses and Classes	33	45	36	45	35	65	63
Kettering Area							
Preparatory							
Tutorial and Tutorial	3	4	5	7	6	7	9
Other Classes and Courses	8	14	8	7	5	6	5
Northampton Branch							
Preparatory							
Tutorial and Tutorial	2	1	2	2	3	4	4
Other Classes and Courses	3	4	2	3	5	1	2
Total for Northamptonshire	5 : 11	5 : 18	7 : 10	9 : 10	9 : 10	11 : 7	13: 7
Total expressed as percentage of District Total							
Tutorial Classes	33%	28%	39%	45%	43%	52%	52%
Other Classes and Courses	33%	40%	28%	22%	29%	11%	11%
All Northamptonshire Classes and Courses as percentage of all District Classes and Courses	33%	36%	31%	29%	34%	21%	23%

It will be re-called that in 1927 the Adult Education Committee of the Board of Education expressed concern over the relative decline in the proportion of Tutorial Classes within the growth of adult education provision.[1] The Eastern District reflected the national trend in this direction but the Kettering scheme indicated the ways in which the trend might have been restrained if not reversed. Through efforts of Miss Green and the members of Branch the W.E.A. in Northamptonshire was not merely an agency for the supply of opportunities for the education of adults but a social movement creating groups for whom fellowship, friendship and a sense of community interest were of considerable importance. This emphasis was also important not only at a personal self-fulfilment level, an extremely important motivating factor, but also in an identification with a wider movement conscious of its social and political purposes for the eventual emancipation of the under-privileged through its contribution to an educated, democratic society which, it was believed, would evolve. In this wider sense, the contribution of Miss Green was, of course, unquantifiable but its effect can be partially measured through the record of the number of Terminal and One Year courses at centres and Branches which led, in a linear relationship, to the provision of Tutorial Classes in the area, and in this particular respect anticipated the policy intentions of the 1932 Regulations.

General District Development, 1924-31

Graphs Nos.1 and 2[2] illustrate the growth in the District's provision of Tutorial Classes, One Year and Terminal courses, in extending its activities to a wider geographical area than in the period immediately following the end of the war in 1918. By 1924, the District had established

1. Chapter 4, pp.292.
2. Appendices Nos. 4 and 5.

some twenty Branches, its classes attended by over 1,000 students distributed in nine Tutorial, twenty five other courses varying from short lecture series of about six meetings to one-year courses, and ten study circles. Its financial position continued to be precarious. For example, in 1924 a deficit of about £80 was claimed to reflect restrictions imposed by the Board of Education to the 1922-23 grant earning capacity. These restrictions were not fully implemented but the late withdrawal of the intention to do so effectively curtailed the provision made in the following year's programme.

With the introduction of the Adult Education Regulations in 1924, the W.E.A. believed that the experimental phase in liberal adult education was finally at an end, appropriately in the twenty-first year of the Association's existence. Further, the recognition of District organisations of the W.E.A. as Responsible Bodies under the Regulations, in this respect at least on equal footing with university bodies, appeared to provide a status which had been envisaged by Mansbridge in 1903 of co-partnership with universities in adult education; a status which it has defended ever since as a major provider of liberal adult education. In 1924-25, the value of the Regulations was demonstrated through the increase from eleven to twenty four classes which earned grant aid from the Board of Education, and while there was little optimism for a realisation of Morant's promised "golden stream" of 1907 for Tutorial Classes being extended to Chapter III work, it was believed in the District that the increased grants available under the Regulations would ease, if not resolve, the continuing financial difficulties.[1] The optimism of 1925 was to be dissipated within a year and in its financial affairs, the District appeared to continue its amateurish subsistence struggle to

1. Chapter 1, p. 47.

maintain its deficit at a manageable level rather than positively seek to eradicate it.

In its educational work, and although the number of Branches in 1931 had alightly declined to nineteen from the twenty-one in 1925, the encouraging developments in Bedfordshire and Northamptonshire and the prospect of new developments in East Suffolk gave substance to the continued optimism that the District had survived two major problems. Firstly, it had maintained a forward momentum in the difficult period following the evanescence of initial enthusiasm, a common problem in all voluntary organisations leading to a withdrawal of support and loss of clear objectives. Secondly, the nineteen-twenties was an especially difficult period in the economic life of the country. Its effects were particularly severe in those occupational groups in which the W.E.A. had first flourished, undermining both social and economic lives of manual and clerical workers and leading to the direct-action policies of trade unions culminating in the General Strike of May, 1926, the corrosive effects of which were to continue into the nineteen thirties. However, by the end of the decade, the District was able to claim that it had achieved expansion in, as well as consolidation of, its educational work throughout its area and had, with difficulty, survived a number of crises specific to its financial position.

Table 7 below illustrates the changing balance in the composition of Tutorial Classes through an analysis of the occupational groupings of the students enrolled. Unfortunately, no comparable statistics for One Year and Terminal courses appear to have been maintained by the District. Nevertheless, as the number of Tutorial Classes increased significantly during this period, and as many of the students came from the Northamptonshire area which accounted for virtually one-half of the

District total,[1] the Table provides data which appear to confirm that in the District the trend did not correspond to the national one of decline in the number of students in manual occupations enrolling for Tutorial Classes. It is tempting to extrapolate the trend into the enrolments for Chapter III courses, because of the activities of Shearman and Miss Green with their own predilection for concentration on manual workers wherever possible, and both of whom jointly provided approximately some 20-25% of the total of the District's Chapter III courses.

The possible reasons for this exceptional situation were threefold. Firstly, the Board of Extra Mural Studies had adequate funds, and few problems in the supply of experienced tutors of academic worth from Cambridge colleges, prepared to respond to expressed demands from centres and Branches in the District. Indeed, as already noted, there were other compelling reasons as well for greater attention to be paid to the development within the University's own region and ambitions for an expanded role in the provision of Chapter II and III courses by the Board of Extra Mural Studies. Secondly, there were large, well-established W.E.A. Branches with a continuing tradition for the arrangement of Tutorial Classes at the apex of their educational activities. As noted earlier, some of these were not merely educational agencies but also active, vigorous social organisations as well, and thus able to maintain and regenerate themselves through the introduction of new members and the development of new interests. For example, at Halstead, Ipswich, Kettering and Northampton there was a continuous, unbroken record of Tutorial Classes throughout the period and at Bedford and Cambridge there was only an occasional fallow year while re-grouping of activities

1. See Table 6.

and the organisation of new courses which provided the minor breaks in continuity. Thirdly, the remarkable and sustained enthusiasm for both Tutorial Classes and Chapter III courses of study was attributable to the pioneering, unsparing efforts of the two resident tutor-organisers, in Bedfordshire and Northamptonshire. At Kettering there were two or three Tutorial Classes in most years, together with Chapter III courses, and Northampton achieved the unparalleled distinction of supporting four Tutorial Classes in 1929-30, all of which successfully completed their courses.[1]

Although other successful Tutorial Classes were arranged at King's Lynn, Wells and Wymondham, at Bedford, Ipswich, Letchworth and Luton the concentration was in Northamptonshire and the Branch at Peterborough. When analysed, the data provided in Table 7 reflects the concentration in that county through the occupational groups. The relatively high percentage of manual occupations consisted of the skilled or semi-skilled trades in the footwear and clothing industries and also underline the links which Miss Green and the Branches sought to establish and maintain between the W.E.A. and local branches of trade unions and the Co-operative movement. Thus the footwear trades provided 37% of all manual workers in 1924 declining, but only proportionally, to 34% by 1931. Clothing trades accounted for 5.5% of manual workers in 1924 but had risen to 14% of enrolled students by 1931. Significantly, the number of farm-workers, in this predominantly rural and agriculturally important District, were never to represent more than 6% of enrolled students in Tutorial

1. Other Tutorial Classes in the county and the details of the years in which courses were arranged are given in Table 5.

Table 7

University Tutorial Classes: Cambridge University Tutorial Classes Committee, 1924-31[1]

Occupational Groups of Students : Percentages of Total Enrolments

Occupational Group	1924-25 %	1925-26 %	1926-27 %	1927-28 %	1928-29 %	1929-30 %	1930-31 %
Manual[2]	35	25	31	31	27	36	36
Non-Manual[3]	33	32	34	25	25	23	25
Women at Home	15	19	15	16	18	15	14
Teachers[4]	17	24	20	28	30	26	25
Total No. Students	423	417	544	486	530	490	607
Total No. Eastern District Tutorial Classes	13	16	16	19	16	18	25

1. The percentages shown are for all Cambridge University Tutorial Classes which included some arranged beyond the District at Nuneaton and Rugby, but the majority of Classes were arranged at Branches within the Eastern District and the statistics are considered representative of the proportion of occupational groups of students for the District. The sources of information for this Table are the Annual Reports of the Eastern District of the W.E.A. and correspondence between Branches and the District Secretary, and the Board of Extra Mural Studies Annual Reports, 1925-1931.
2. No classification is entirely satisfactory, and over these years was not entirely consistent, but this category included: engineers, electricians, railway employees, carpenters, building trades and labourers, tailors and dressmakers, printing trades, boot and shoe operatives, postmen, policemen, municipal workers, blacksmiths, farm labourers, bakers, textile factory workers, gardeners and caretakers.
3. Non-manual categories included: clerks, typists, shopkeepers and assistants, civil servants, overlookers and foremen, insurance agents, commercial travellers, draughtsmen, laboratory assistants, ministers of religion, nurses and social workers.
4. Teachers, always a large element in Tutorial Class groups in the nineteen-twenties, are shown separately in the Table for this reason, and to avoid the problem of distortion in the percentages of the non-manual group if included under that category.

Classes.[1]

Of the Branches beyond Northamptonshire, it is likely that there were other students from manual occupational groups also enrolled in Tutorial Classes. In Bedford for example, the growing engineering industry and close links with trade unions and the co-operative movement certainly led to members of these organisations enrolling for classes.[2] Mention has already been made of Gurney and Kempster who were members of the Tutorial Class in Economics in the middle of the decade and there were other manual workers who attended the Bedford classes from surrounding villages. Similar links with the unions and co-operative movement existed in Ipswich, an even larger engineering centre, and both Branches enjoyed the active support of prominent townspeople in civic life: Liddle, the Head of Bedford Modern School was Chairman of the Bedford Branch, and M.M. Spink the Director of Education for East Suffolk conducted some W.E.A. courses at the Ipswich Branch.

At Cambridge, the membership probably came from the non-manual occupational groups and teachers and the subjects studied in Tutorial Classes tended to have socio-cultural emphases. For example, two Classes were in Biology and Psychology with access to university laboratories for practical activities, an "educational trip to Messrs. Chivers' Jam Factory at Histon" was arranged in 1927, and annual debates with Girton

1. Of the many examples of the links between the W.E.A. and trade unions, and in addition to those to which reference has already been made in the examination of the Kettering scheme, the Northampton Branch provided an interesting link with the Boot and Shoe Union. The Tutorial Classes in English Literature and Economics, 1923-26 and 1924-27, respectively were arranged exclusively with that trade union and meetings were held at the Trades Hall. The Boot and Shoe Union was closely connected with the Northampton Branch, with an overlap of officers in both bodies, and arranged Tutorial Clases under its auspices throughout the period.
2. Bedford Branch Minute Book and conversation with Henry Wash, October, 1966.

College students suggest the interests of students were not rooted in the usual manual occupations.

Halstead, one of the oldest Branches, was a centre of continuous vigour and regeneration through the influx of new population. In the early part of the period it organised lectures in surrounding villages, provided "popular" lectures for large audiences and on at least one occasion, in 1924-25, a lecture during school holidays resulted in an attendance of 450 children. Unfortunately, there are no records to suggest that such enterprise led directly either to other activities with children or to increased membership of the Branch. Music was an important feature in the work of this Branch for several years: lectures and concerts on the subject were frequent and in 1929-30 a concert was provided by a group of miners from South Wales who had settled in the area.[1]

Here again in all these Branches there was evidence of an active range of social activities. Visits to places of general and cultural interest, summer rambles and outings, musical evenings, monthly popular lectures to audiences wider than the Branch membership provided as part of a contribution to the life of the community; debates, weekend schools amateur dramatic activities all contributed powerfully to the sense of fellowship, comradeship, social identity and cohesion as well as providing the only available opportunities for self-development and personal growth. The impression derived from an examination of records, letters and accounts of activities is of a sense of active, mutually supportive community of unified purpose, commonly found in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries within the congregations of churches and chapels, now

1. District Annual Reports, 1924-31 passim.

noticeably in decline in the decade following the end of the 1914-18 war. Taylor summarises the general decline in the influence of religion during the post-war decade

> "... religious faith was losing its strength.... This was as great a happening as any in English history since the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons to Christianity ... the advance in material comforts made men less concerned with pie in the sky, and the sight of priests and bishops blessing guns and tanks during the Great War was not a good advertisement for the gospel of the Prince of Peace".[1]

It is possible that for many people, the W.E.A. offered an alternative but secular cause to the radical Non-conformist tradition of earlier years.

In addition to the numerical growth in the number of Tutorial Classes held and which were not directly stimulated in the Eastern District by the new adult education regulations, there was, nevertheless, an indirect effect leading to their increased provision through the growth in the number of One Year and Terminal courses from which some students undoubtedly moved on to more sustained studies offered by the three-year Classes. Short courses, with others arranged for a complete academic session, were becoming important features in the provision of the District's activities. In the year immediately preceding the introduction of the new Regulations, 1923-24, and in spite of the Board's restriction on the permitted expenditure for adult education, the District had arranged twenty-five courses of this type and ten study circles from which, it was anticipated, courses would arise. These courses were, of course, eligible for grant-aid under the Regulations for Technical

1. A.J.P. Taylor English History 1914-45 Oxford University Press, 1975 pp.222-223. Taylor's gift for hyperbole is evident but the general conclusion appears to be both accurate and succinct.

Schools, although only eleven qualified for financial support.[1]

The full effects of the influence of the Regulations were evident in the 1925-26 session when the number of Chapter III courses earning Board of Education grants increased to thirty-three. The beneficial effect on the District's finances became apparent in that year when the grant earned more than doubled.[2] However, as there was no grant available for increased administrative and organisational expenditure, a natural concomitant in the expansion, the benefit was more apparent than real. Further, although the enrolled student total showed an increase of almost 300 on the previous year reflecting the increase in the number of courses, membership of the W.E.A. was only marginally increased, an indication that of the increase the majority of students were enrolling more for the educational value of the courses than through a sense of becoming members of a social movement striving to provide educational opportunities for under-privileged adults. The increase in the number of teachers attending Tutorial Classes, Table 7, might indicate part of this trend. The result was that the District obtained little direct financial benefit from the increase in student enrolments. The District relied for some of its income on Branch dues paid on a per capita basis from the subscription of individuals who, in addition to the small course fee, levied a further charge, usually two shillings and sixpence, for membership of the W.E.A. If the student chose not to join

1. In addition, in the same year, L.E.A.s grant aided classes as follows: Bedfordshire £25, Cambridgeshire £45, Essex £10, Northamptonshire £20 and Norwich £15: an average of about £10 a class. Norfolk was, of course, accepting full responsibility for classes under the Newlove enterprise. In the same year Board of Education grants amounted to £136 for the whole District, the amounts varying according to the Divisions under the Regulations for Technical Schools. For example classes in Economics earned larger grants than those in Music.
2. From £93 in 1924-25 to £192 in 1925-26.

the W.E.A. then the District received nothing from the Branch. The slogan "Every student a Member" in the Eastern District became in the period under review an appeal for income, as well as for adherents to the wider movement, simply to help in defraying the organisational expenses which added considerably to the problems of District solvency. The overall effect in monetary terms was negligible but the District did achieve a small increase on the 60% W.E.A. membership during the late nineteen twenties.[1]

By 1929, when the county schemes in Bedfordshire and Northamptonshire were flourishing, the District appeared to attain a plateau of achievement for One Year and Terminal courses. Although the locations of these courses were different each year in many cases, the total provision was not dissimilar to those for earlier years, but an increase in the total of courses in 1930-31 suggested that a new surge in provision was imminent. These new courses were not only the product of earlier, sustained endeavour by Miss Green and Shearman, but also included the first attempts at an initiative in the largely neglected extra-metropolitan fringe of the District. Here, in conjunction with the London District of the W.E.A. and the London Co-operative Society's Education Committee, an attempt was made to provide classes and six Terminal courses were arranged.[2] It is almost certain that the initiative came from outside the District:

1. In fact income from Branch dues fell from £49 in 1926 to £46 in 1927. The problem was common throughout the W.E.A. In 1929, the national Association reported that ten of the sixteen W.E.A. Districts had lower Branch membership totals than in 1924; the average percentage of Branch and District membership to students was 59% almost exactly the Eastern District figure, and a decline of more than 20% on the 1924 percentage. The national Association noted that on average the Movement had to raise some 40% of the costs of administration from external sources. Put in another way, on average in 1929, the contributions of members and students amounted on a per capita basis to just over seven shillings, whereas the per capita costs for administration and organisation, excluding teaching services, was just over nine shillings. Source: W.E.A. Central Office Memorandum on District Reports (Finance) 11 December, 1929.
2. These were provided at: Southend (3), South Benfleet, Rayleigh and Watford.

certainly it showed little interest in its southern periphery a factor which probably led to its willing acquiescence to transfer the populous commuter zone to the London District in the summer of 1930.

The adjustment to the southern boundary of the Eastern District followed a line drawn westwards from the mouth of the Blackwater River in Essex, excluding Chelmsford which continued in that part of Essex retained by the District, but Cheshunt, Barnet and Watford were transferred to the London District. The rest of Hertfordshire continued to be included in the Eastern District, as in Pateman's view there was a possibility of the Cambridge Board of Extra Mural Studies introducing a rural scheme in conjunction with the Hertfordshire L.E.A! If this were to be developed it would be prudent for the District to retain the rural fringe of Watford and continue the revised District boundary due west to the Buckinghamshire boundary.[1] It was further agreed that if there were courses proposed at centres within three miles of the new boundary, each District would inform the other to determine which could meet the demand more easily and effectively.

Finally, as a portent of future development, and an opportunity missed, the potential of radio as an educational medium was explored in the District's activities. As noted earlier, Shearman had encouraged the formation of three wireless "listening-in" groups.[2] In 1926, the newly formed British Broadcasting Company (later Corporation) had approached the Cambridge Board of Extra Mural Studies about the possibility of establishing a local radio station in Cambridge but apparently nothing

1. The correspondence between Pateman and Lowth, Secretary of the London District, continued for more than a year over the vague existing demarcation, but the adjustment was throughout amicably negotiated and the details settled at the Eastern District Council meeting on 25 January, 1930, and made effective that summer.
2. Page 331.

came of the enquiry.[1] Nevertheless, in the 1927-28 session a course of six talks on the "Problems of Heredity" was broadcast and which was of particular interest in the District as the presenter was Mrs. Mary Adams, then a tutor with the Board of Extra Mural Studies. The Cambridge and Ipswich Branches of the W.E.A., then pursuing Tutorial Classes in Biology with Mrs. Adams as tutor, participated in the experiment through group reception of the radio talks given by her. Because of the novelty, the general public were, exceptionally, admitted on these occasions and with whom members of the Classes acted as discussion group leaders following each broadcast. The talks were supplemented by an illustrated booklet, the diagrams for which were prepared by a member of the Ipswich Tutorial Class. Questions which arose which could not be answered by the discussion group leaders were passed to Mrs. Adams who dealt with them during the broadcast in the following week.[2] Demonstrations, in association with the broadcasts were arranged in each of the Classes and microscopes made available to pursue points made during the talks. These were considered to have been successful experiments, attributable to the special relationship between Mrs. Adams as the broadcaster and her two Tutorial Classes.

Elsewhere, with few exceptions, it was evident from comments in 'The Highway' at the time that broadcasting was not considered to be the kind of medium to which a great deal of attention should be given. The reasons were largely attributable to a new approach to teaching in an area of considerable habituation. In this case, and early experience appared to confirm it, the success of the radio talks series depended heavily on the availability of skilled, authoritative group leaders present at the group-listening sessions who could develop discussion of the subject

1. E. Welch op.cit. p.157.
2. Eastern District Annual Report 1927-28 p.10.

treatment with the groups and extend points made during the broadcast. If the leader satisfied all these conditions then there was a widespread belief that the broadcast itself became superfluous. Additionally, there was also an absence of well-produced, inexpensive supplementary materials for use before and after the broadcast, which itself was highly vulnerable to problems of reception and technical reliability of the receiving apparatus. Further, the old habits of tuition, especially in Tutorial Classes, persisted and the discussion period with the lecturer in a face-to-face situation was a matter of instinctive preference and the transition was for many too difficult to make with voluntary ease both by students and tutors.

Nevertheless, the Cambridge Branch persisted with the possibilities of radio and a further "listening-in" group was formed in the 1929-30 session, concurrently with those in Bedfordshire.[1] At St. Alban's a similar group existed which was independent of the W.E.A. but which was supported mainly by members of the local Branch. However, the impact of broadcasting and the considerable increase in the volume of educational broadcasting did not occur until the war-period, 1939-45, and the decade which followed it.

There was a general unease about the potential influence of broadcasting for the W.E.A. In 1928, the national Association undertook a survey of its effects, which it assumed would be adverse, on the provision of, and attendance at, W.E.A. courses. Pateman's response was that although "listening-in" groups had been formed in the District, the

1. Page 331 . These were on 'The Wonders of Science' and 'Pioneers of Health', 'History of the Countryside', 'Far from the Maddening Crowd' and 'India'. These Bedfordshire groups were visited by H.E. Milliken of the B.B.C. Talks Department, who was also at that time a tutor for the Peterborough Tutorial Class.

experienced appeared not to have led to a decline in student enrolments for courses. In fact, at Harrold, north Bedfordshire, a Terminal course had arisen directly from the stimulation of broadcasts on development in childhood and adolescence.[1]

The Workers Educational Trade Union Committee (W.E.T.U.C.)

Following the establishment of a closer relationship between the W.E.A. and the trade union movement which was reflected in the creation of the W.E.T.U.C. in 1919, and the Eastern Divisional Committee, the links between the trade unions and the W.E.A. slowly began to be consolidated and by 1926 nine trade unions had adopted W.E.T.U.C. schemes to encourage educational participation by their members.

In the Eastern District, Pateman as W.E.A. District Secretary followed the conventional practice of acting as Secretary to the Divisional Committee of the W.E.T.U.C. In this dual capacity, he was able to link the W.E.A. with the W.E.T.U.C.'s scheme for the remission of fees for trade union members attending District classes, but little interest or participation in W.E.A. courses appears to have occurred, a reflection of the general national position, and the remission of fees to the District barely amounted to £20 a year. The only visible activity of the existence of the joint scheme was in the organisation of Weekend Schools on two or three occasions a year.[2]

A national agreement in 1925 on trade union education reached between the T.U.C. and the rival educational organisations involved in adult education for workers, the W.E.A. and the National Council of Labour

1. The Harrold Terminal course was in Psychology.
2. For example, Kingsley Martin was tutor at a weekend school at Gorleston in 1924, on the topic 'Public Opinion', G.D.H. Cole lectured on 'Trade Unionism' at Norwich in 1925, and H.J. Leski at Bedford in 1926.

Colleges (N.C.L.C.), led to some embarrassment for the W.E.A. when in January, 1926, the Edinburgh Branch of the W.E.A. seceded from the national Association in protest against the agreement which in its opinion represented a fundamental retreat from the W.E.A.'s central principle of political independence. In the flurry of activity which immediately followed the potentially seriously damaging situation which had been given considerable publicity by the national Press, the W.E.A. in hurried discussions with the Board of Education, the Association of Municipal Corporations, the County Councils Association and the London County Council reached an agreement, to which reference has already been made in connection with the Bedfordshire rural scheme, and issued a joint statement on policy for the conduct of adult education courses. The W.E.A. hastened to concur in the non-political nature of its courses and its independent role as a major participant in the provision of public education.[1] The assurance was necessary, not only from the damage caused by accusations of political partiality and bias, in itself an issue of crucial importance to the W.E.A., but on the grounds of self-interest. It was of little value to be accused falsely under any circumstances and even worse if there was no material advantage to be gained from the calumny. Although the matter was resolved to the satisfaction of the public sector bodies and the W.E.A., some of the doubts about the political neutrality of the Association persisted for several years, of which

1. The Association of Municipal Corporations was the national body for county borough Authorities and the County Councils Association its counterpart for rural areas, representing the views and policies of the county Authorities of England and Wales. They were especially important to the W.E.A. as many provided direct grant-aid for the courses organised by the W.E.A. and almost all provided assistance of other kinds such as accommodation without charge for W.E.A. classes. Further, and of particular significance, they represented all the L.E.A.s encouraged by the Prefatory note in the 1924 Adult Education Regulations to assume direct responsibility for liberal adult education under Chapter III and which the W.E.A. at that time was strenuously working to retain. Failure to have secured an agreement at that time might well have led L.E.A.s, with Board of Education encouragement, to assume a more active role in the provision of courses for which the W.E.A., almost alone, was then responsible.

Bedfordshire was merely the first in chronological order in the Eastern District to require explicit observance.[1]

At District level, Pateman maintained a largely passive role, possibly as a result of the problems which the national Association had experienced from the T.U.C.-N.C.L.C.-W.E.A. compact but more probably because there was little demand from the trade unions in the District and his own commitments to the District and the Board of Extra Mural Studies were comprehensively demanding. He discovered particularly with the potentially important Agricultural Workers Union in the District that "... when you enquire about them you find they exist but only on paper".[2] As a regional, co-ordinating body, the Divisional Committee was completely ineffective. Where there was a well-developed trade union organisation whose members were interested in educational activities, as in Northamptonshire, the links between the unions and the District already

1. The substance of the joint statement by the Local Authority organisations is given in connection with the Bedfordshire scheme, p. 318 , and its general context published in "Education" 29 January, 1926 p.119. Other details of the conference between the organisations and the W.E.A. are given in the County Councils Association Official Gazette, May 1926, and provide a useful background to the agreement leading to the joint statement in January, 1926. This report also contains a copy of a letter by Arthur Pugh, Chairman of the T.U.C.'s Advisory Committee on Education, and a report on the preliminary discussions in the autumn of 1925 when the local government organisations showed concern over the T.U.C.'s Educational Scheme adopted at its annual conference in September, 1925. By invitation, the Master of Balliol, Mactavish and Pugh had attended the meetings.
   The persistence of L.E.A. suspicion of the W.E.A. is indicated by the exchange of letters between Jacques and the Norfolk L.E.A. in 1938. Its also possible that, although there is no documentary evidence to support it, the decision of the Norfolk L.E.A. to withdraw its financial support, April, 1926, for Chapter III courses provided by the Eastern District might also have been influenced by the concern shown by local authority organisations throughout the winter of 1925-26.
2. Pateman in a letter to Lowth 6 January, 1925. Again, in 1929, when attempting to encourage support for a course in Chelmsford through the local Co-operative Industrial Society, two attempts to convene preliminary meetings of employees resulted in attendances of six and five workers on each occasion out of a potential of 300. Both the District and the local Co-operative Education Committee abandoned the courses.

existed through the Branches of the W.E.A. and as already noted some courses were arranged directly through trade union branches, or local trades councils or co-operative societies.

Apart from the weekend schools which provided a regular if minor activity, the main purpose of the Divisional Committee of the W.E.T.U.C. was in the award of scholarships to Cambridge Summer Schools, paid from union funds, and the provision of lecturers at the request of various trade union organisations. The weakness of the W.E.T.U.C. in the Eastern District, if not elsewhere, lay in the apathy of the members and officials of the trade unions rather than by the District which appears never to have refused to respond to a request from its partners in the scheme. J.W. Muir, when Organising Secretary of the W.E.A., undertook propaganda tours in 1925 and 1926 to enlist greater support for the activities of the W.E.A. The second tour was aimed at stimulating members of trade unions and co-operative societies who were already W.E.A. students, to publicise more actively the work of the W.E.A. among their organisations. He concluded, and publicly admitted, that in all its essentials the second tour had not been a success. He drew attention particularly to the existing apathy among members of both organisations, the insurmountable hurdle for some trade unionists over the hostility between the W.E.A. and the N.C.L.C., but also regretted that officers of many W.E.A. Branches made little conscious effort to link their Branches with trade union organisations in their locality.[1] Muir's tour included the main towns in the Eastern District, and appeared to have had at least one positive

1. J.W. Muir's Report on the Propaganda Campaign 1925-26, prepared for a meeting of District Secretaries in March, 1926. The hostility which existed between the W.E.A. and the N.C.L.C. was essentially an ideological one. To the N.C.L.C., education was one of the weapons to be used in the class struggle and the W.E.A. was regarded as the hirelings of capitalist rulers - a recurring theme of unmitigated monotony in 'Plebs', the journal of the N.C.L.C.

benefit, in that the Rushden Branch was established during the following year as a result of his visit to the town.

Not even the General Strike of May, 1926, appears to have made any real contribution to the reduction in apathy on the part of the unions and recognition of kindred spirits in the W.E.A. In the District, support for the strike's objectives was publicly evident. Two hundred resident M.A.'s of the University signed an appeal issued by St. John Parry, then Chairman of the Tutorial Classes Committee, urging that "it is the duty of the Government, in spite of the existence of the General Strike, to take the initiative at once in re-opening negotiations". Pateman arranged a class in Public Speaking for the Cambridge Joint Strike Committee, and support given to that committee by Mrs. Rackham, who was a member of it, and by Mrs. Mary Adams, a tutor for Tutorial Classes. The Board of Extra Mural Studies offered to supply lecturers to the strike committee, but before any were required the industrial unrest ended.

Matters in the Eastern Division of the W.E.T.U.C. continued after the General Strike much as they had before its eruption largely perhaps because the five unions in the Divisional arrangements had not been the main participants in the national struggle.[1] By the end of the nineteen twenties, only some five or six members of all the affiliated unions attended the Cambridge Summer Schools. Invariably, these had their fees remitted by their unions, but Muir's earlier claim about lack of knowledge about the arrangements for remission of fees for members of trade unions within the national W.E.T.U.C. scheme was substantiated by the admission in 1929 that several students at classes in the Eastern District eligible

1. Those in membership of the Eastern Divisional Committee were: Railway Clerks' Association, General and Municipal Workers, Association of Engineering and Shipbuilding Draughtsmen, Union of Post-office Workers, and the Civil Service Clerical Association.

for support from union funds had failed to submit claims. In a period of high unemployment and short-time working, it is surprising that greater effort was not made through the Divisional W.E.T.U.C. to exhort both the unions and the W.E.A. Branches to acquaint their members with the existence of, and benefits available under, the scheme. Clearly, as far as both bodies were concerned the co-operation and effectiveness of their organisations left much to be done - a condition which continued to exist almost entirely throughout the period of this study.[1]

District Finance

The financial affairs of the District continued in a thoroughly unsatisfactory condition: expenditure exceeded income, annual appeals to Branches met with inadequate responses, and the new Regulations for adult education did not contribute as much income as had been anticipated. The core of the problem continued in that the District's essential administrative functions attracted no grants and thus these costs had to be met, in addition to the 25% of tutors' fees not provided under the Regulations, from donations, subscriptions and the small levy on Branches who were, in theory, responsible for the maintenance of the District mechanism. In this responsibility, the national Association had shared through grants over a period of several years and continued to do so on an ad hoc, vicarious basis when its own financial position allowed.

As already noted, in the autumn of 1924, the Board of Extra Mural Studies agreed to the payment of an honorarium to Pateman for his work in connection with work for the Tutorial Classes Committee and in the organisation of the Cambridge Summer School. The payment came at another critical period in the District's finances and a new level of financial

1. W.E.T.U.C. Eastern Division Minute Book: Annual Report, 1929.

depletion was established in May, 1925. Pateman was owed almost £115 in arrears of salary and an even larger sum was owed by the District elsewhere, including £90 to the District Development Fund established for pioneer activities following Mrs. Dalton's successful fund-raising campaign in 1920.

Finally, the District acted. Pateman's appointment was renewed for only one year, 1925-26, and at a reduced salary of £200.[1] The District Executive Committee agreed to clear Pateman's arrears through arranging a bank overdraft, a further appeal would be made to Branches, and consideration would be given yet again to ways and means of increasing income to support the essential administrative work. If adequate funds were raised Pateman would be re-engaged as District Secretary at his former salary of £295 a year for the 1926-27 session.[2] Even at the original salary, Pateman was seriously underpaid by the W.E.A.'s prescribed scale of a maximum salary of £400 a year.[3]

Not surprisingly, Pateman sought assurances from the District about the future payment of the reduced salary. His concern was that it should be paid to him at regular intervals and in full. These were given

1. Although there is no documentation on the decision other than its minuting, it seems reasonable to assume that the payment of the honorarium of £150 by the Board was considered as additional payment for duties which had been subsumed under the original appointment of the District Secretary. Thus with the combination of the honorarium and the reduced salary, Pateman's income for that year amounted to £350, an increase on his original salary of £295 a year.
2. The appeal was in the form of a lengthy letter from Messrs. Wash, Hurst, Salter and set three objectives: to clear the bank overdraft of £114, to provide for the District Secretary's salary in future years, and to meet the normal expenses of the District's organisation. July, 1925.
3. Nevertheless, the District Executive Meeting, 13 May, 1925, at which the decision was taken to reduce Pateman's salary was also attended by Mactavish in view of the gravity of the situation, and he confirmed that the national Association could provide no additional grant to the District other than the existing £60 a year.

by the Executive Committee and Pateman accepted, without enthusiasm, the revised terms. Once more an appeal to Branches was made in July, 1925 to raise £175 of new money to maintain the District's organisation and secure Pateman's salary. The response amounted to £80 and by January, 1926, the deficit on Pateman's salary had increased to £120! This was reduced by the end of the financial year to about £50 as a result of the appeal and donations. In 1928, apart from the purchase of a car for Pateman's use, and with the full extent of the negotiated £140 bank overdraft being used, the annual accumulation of deficits was arrested. However, Pateman's arrears of salary were not finally cleared until 1930 and then only through a special grant of £70 from the national Association.

By 1929, the deficit had increased yet again and reached £320.[1] Salter, as honorary treasurer to the District, had realised that the prospect of generating new sources of income from a sparsely populated region with its low wages and much unemployment was hopeless. He issued a personal appeal within the University and managed to raise about £50, supplemented by a further £20 from Branches to reduce the deficit, but it was nowhere near the sum required.[2]

Although the number of courses was increasing at an encouraging rate, the number of Branches was static and the total membership had declined.[3] As already noted the membership of the District was about 60% throughout most of the decade and the dues paid by Branches to the District at the rate of one shilling per member required a much higher percentage of students than the District achieved and there were years in which the payments from Branches fell at a time when student enrolments were

1. The deficit was £50 more than that of any other District in the W.E.A.
2. Circular letter dated 27 April, 1929.
3. In 1925-26, the membership of the District was 1,045 but by 1931 had fallen to about 900.

increasing.[1] As the provision of courses increased, the administrative costs also rose: from the 1926 total of £70 to £185 in 1931, exclusive of Pateman's travelling expenses. If these were added, the expenditure on the purchase of a second-hand car and its running expenses from 1928 would increase the figure substantially. Further, although the District had insisted as a condition of acceptance of the grant-aid from the Carnegie Trust that the sum should meet all expenditure involved in the Bedfordshire rural scheme, the £500 a year grant was insufficient after the first year and by 1929-30, in its final year, the District funds were providing a further £60 to meet the costs of Shearman's work, excluding any charge for Pateman's administrative involvement in connection with the Bedfordshire scheme.

Thus the annual appeal to Branches became almost a matter of routine and, not surprisingly, produced a diminishing financial response. After a period of several years, the appeals appear to have been aimed not at achieving a balanced set of accounts but at a policy of containment of the mounting deficit and the District appeared to have become habituated to a precarious existence of permanent indebtedness.

Conclusion

The years covered by this chapter represent a watershed in the development of the national Association and for the District in its growth and development during the period of this study. The period was one of considerable significance for the Association's future and status in which the achievements were particularly encouraging. Nevertheless, there were the first signs of problems which were to lie in the future, particularly in the official attitude of the Board of Education to the

1. In 1926, the sum contributed by Branches to District funds was £49 but in reflection of the decline in membership by 1931 it amounted to £44.

role of voluntary organisations in liberal adult education, and also in the developing functions of the new university extra-mural departments. Further research is necessary on the period and this study only considers one W.E.A. District, but from the impression gained in the Eastern District's records it is possible to detect a concern for quantitative expansion in attempts to overcome the enduring problem of financial self-sufficiency without enough attention being given to the developing relationship between the new University Board of Extra Mural Studies and the District, perhaps because it was assumed the Regulations of 1924 had provided immutable distinctions between Chapters II and III. With the departure of Cranage in 1928 there was a perceptible shift in policy emphasis which appears either to have been undetected or ignored by the Eastern District's Committee.

Three important advantages for the W.E.A. emerged during this period. Its position as the leading voluntary body for the organisation and provision of liberal adult education was confirmed through its recognition as an Approved Association by the Board of Education and thus its courses, arranged by its sixteen Districts, became eligible for direct, specific grant aid from public funds, in addition to its already established position as joint provider with universities for Tutorial Classes. Further, its status in negotiating the funding of experimental, pioneer schemes with philanthropic trusts was undoubtedly enhanced through official recognition of its position as an integral element in a national framework for the educational system. Additionally, the disinclination of L.E.A.s to assume direct and full responsibility for the provision of liberal adult education, although given direct encouragement to do so by the Board of Education, led to a strengthening of the W.E.A.'s position and secured a permanent role within six years, which although challenged subsequently has never seriously been threatened apart from a brief period

in the early nineteen fifties. Finally, during the period of this chapter the establishment of university extra-mural departments was considered to be of fundamental importance in the recognition of liberal adult education as an integral, natural and essential function of universities. The W.E.A. correctly regarded their emergence as a directly beneficial effect on its own activities through the principle of close, mutually supportive partnership which had characterised the existence and activities of the W.E.A. since its inception.

Nevertheless, all three advances represented achievements sought in the previous twenty years and prospectively they were to create a new range of problems and difficulties both for the national Association and the Eastern District. The new Regulations did not resolve the financial difficulties of the District although they undeniably stimulated expansion in provision on a quantitative basis, and contributed through the influence of Chapter III courses many students to Tutorial Classes, particularly in Northamptonshire. But they also encouraged the rapid expansion of other courses: shorter, less demanding of students and of greater appeal to educated adults in search of culturally enriching courses rather than those traditionally concerned with rigorous study of the problems of social, economic and political conditions. The effects of this trend disturbed some members of the Adult Education Committee as early as 1927 and both Tawney, repeatedly on academic standards in classes, and G.D.H. Cole, on the retreat from the Association's primary objective of working class education, during the early nineteen thirties were critical of trends which had been set in train by the 1924 Regulations. Nowhere in the records of the Eastern District before 1931 is there any reference to a concern either over the academic standards in classes or in the enrolment of students from manual occupational groups. The main pre-occupation, and an understandable one under the circumstances, was

with the financial problem over which it was believed that increased totals of classes would ease the serious District position.

The status of Responsible Body also assisted the District in its negotiations with the Board of Extra Mural Studies and with L.E.A.s in the region in so far as the status represented the District's recognised position as an organisation with responsibility for the organisation of the potential adult student demand and the authority to arrange courses to satisfy it. The initial clear demarcation between Chapters II and III provision provided an overlap of interest and control for the District in connection with Tutorial Classes but its autonomy over Chapter III courses gave it a field of independent activity subject only to availability of finance and positive support from L.E.A.s in addition to those grants earned under the Regulations. Where financial support was available, the appointment of resident tutors was the preferred solution in the attainment of its objectives through classes and courses under Chapter III. In Bedfordshire and the Kettering area, the funding came from non-statutory sources, and the success of both schemes demonstrated that the method was likely to be the most effective, but also indicated the dependence of the District on financial resources other than its own. This was especially true for rural areas and the impossibility of the District to continue Shearman's appointment beyond the period of Carnegie grant and the refusal of the Bedfordshire L.E.A. to assume responsibility led to the University's Board taking the initiative, attracting funds from other philanthropic sources, and the acceptance of a new responsibility which the District could not have sustained.

It is almost certain that at that time, the Board was considering its own policy vis a vis new regional responsibilities for liberal adult education and at levels below those which it had traditionally provided

and the District's inability to provide for the rural areas over a period of years undoubtedly favoured any claim by the University to do so. Concurrently, the University Board of Extra Mural Studies was in the process of adjusting to its changing role following the inevitability of its withdrawal from a national provision of university extension courses of the traditional type. Encouraged by the Adult Education Committee's 1927 Report; the informal links with Peers at University College, Nottingham; the increased financial support from the University; the involvement in the scheme in rural Cambridgeshire and the adventitious approach over the possibilities of support for the Bedfordshire scheme provided a combination of circumstances especially favourable for a new policy development on behalf of the Board.

When in early 1931, it was known that the revised Board of Education Regulations would include a new grant formula intended to encourage the appointment of university tutors specifically for the development of liberal adult education in rural areas it must have appeared to Hickson and to members of the Board that its new policy approach was entirely appropriate. The freedom for the University Board of Extra Mural Studies to provide Chapter III courses in rural areas thus was officially recognised almost two years after it had done so in Bedfordshire with the District's willing acquiescence in 1930, and its full implications for an appraisal of the former co-operative, close, but independent relationship, which had existed since the inception of the W.E.A. in 1903, followed in the early nineteen thirties. It was to prove to be the dominant issue throughout the decade and the Eastern District became an important cockpit in a testing and difficult period for the W.E.A. in its adjustment to a new relationship with the Cambridge Board of Extra Mural Studies.

Chapter 6

Change and New Directions, 1932-39

National W.E.A. Considerations

The economic difficulties of the early nineteen thirties were gradually eased by a national recovery which began in 1933. The unprecedented unemployment problem which reached its peak of over three million in the autumn of 1932 slowly declined until the outbreak of the war in 1939 and the standard of living measurably rose during these seven years for most of the population. Most marked was the rapid increase in consumer goods and the building industry expanded rapidly in both the public and private sectors.

However, social class distinctions persisted as the more traditional industries made only a slow and partial recovery and large pockets of acute unemployment continued in older industrial areas. East Anglia as a rural area was little affected by these trends except that as mechanisation increased there was a continuing decline in the number of agricultural workers and rural de-population continued as in the previous decade. The increase in tertiary industries and services, the expansion in local and central government agencies and control continued to add to the differentiation of social classification within the working class population, particularly in the black-coated white-collar occupations which were increasing in size throughout the period. These changes were reflected in the changing social composition of student enrolments in W.E.A. courses attracted more by the shorter courses than the traditional Tutorial Classes, particularly as they also represented those pupils who had in earlier years improved opportunities for selective secondary

education. As such they regarded adult education less as educational and social remediation and more as an opportunity to extend their personal and cultural horizons.

Additionally, the enlarged role of university extra mural departments produced an uncertainty for the W.E.A. about its purpose and exclusivity in its traditional sphere of Chapter III activities following the 1932 revision of the Adult Education Regulations. It will be recalled that the extension of responsibilities under the revision encouraged universities to undertake educational courses for adults at lower academic levels than they had traditionally provided. As the student constituency of the W.E.A. represented a cross-section of society, it was difficult to avoid the belief that both the W.E.A. and the universities were co-partners, and on occasions competitors, in educational provision for adults. The universities had in some senses also assumed the missionary fervour and the novel experimentation which had characterised the early years of the W.E.A. The W.E.A. had passed through that phase by the early nineteen thirties and belonged to the 'establishment' of liberal adult education as the senior and largest provider of all organisations, not merely those which were voluntary bodies. It was, however, the only large organisation which existed solely for the purpose of providing adult education but its earlier claim to being also the unique body for the promotion of working class education was less assured as it had failed to secure the unqualified support of the trade union movement. Further, the disillusionment of the economic and political difficulties of the post-war period had led by the early nineteen thirties to a belief that its influence as a social reforming movement in education was not as formidable as had been claimed a decade earlier and particularly in the Final Report 1919.

Tawney and Cole were severe in their strictures about the apparent decline in standards of educational work and the fear that the W.E.A. was becoming a provider of general adult education and less concerned than hitherto with its original objectives as a working-class movement. "Our business is not to be the educational Woolworth of the day" was a typical Tawney epigrammatic criticism of his concern as President of the Association.[1]

Earlier, the national Association, concerned at the loss of momentum within the movement in contrast to the expansion in, and diversity of, the work of university extra mural departments sought to re-vitalise District and Branch organisation through which the work of the W.E.A. was conducted.[2] As a central objective, the 1934 report attempted overtly to relate the educational activities of the Association more directly to social issues within local communities. In its broadest sense, the report recommended more courses and study of non-party political education which would be relevant in the then confused state of British politics and illuminate the issues which were evident in the political changes occurring in Europe at that time - especially in Germany, Italy and, later, Spain. Thus there was an attempt to link educational studies afresh to their social relevance and within the experience of adult students. New subjects such as Housing Policy and Town Planning were recommended in addition to educational staples such as nursery education and the raising of the school leaving age, the latter particularly in connection with the parliamentary Bill prior to the Education Act, 1936.

An assessment of the direct contribution of the W.E.A. to leadership

1. 'Highway' March, 1936.
2. W.E.A. Annual Conference Report, 1934. Report on the Purpose and Organisation of the Association.

and participation in civic affairs was made through a national survey of W.E.A. members in 1938. The results were impressive: between 4-5% of the membership, over 2,300 in all, who were, or had been, students in W.E.A. classes and currently active in public service.[1]

From this survey, Tawney, who contributed the preface, claimed that the W.E.A.'s educational provision gave a social dynamic through which knowledge acquired by study was employed to serve the demands of democracy through active citizens exercising their "social rights and responsibilities."[2] This policy emphasis of 1938 was also reflected in another W.E.A. review in the same year which examined closely the objectives and standards achieved in W.E.A. courses and classes. From the early nineteen thirties the standards achieved and the unsystematic nature of much of the provision by the W.E.A. had been criticised both by the Board of Education's Adult Education Committee and university extra mural departments. In 1935, the Association had been embarrassed by an article contributed by H.A.J. Martin, a former student and current tutor of a Tutorial Class in the Eastern District, to the "Highway" which claimed official returns were falsified over attendance and in respect of the submission of written work to ensure Board of Education grant was received.[3] Although Martin's claim was publicly rejected by Hickson and Pateman it was sufficiently serious to warrant a full investigation by the national Association of the range and standard of its work.

A committee was established for this purpose in 1936, with Cartwright as its Chairman and Shearman as Secretary, and its report was published in 1938.[4] It is an important document for its reflection of the development

1. 'The Adult Student as Citizen' W.E.A. nd. but probably 1938.
2. Ibid p.4.
3. 'Highway' March, 1935. Martin's article "This Grant-grabbing Racket" was aggressive in tone and led to a considerable correspondence.
4. 'Aims and Standards in W.E.A. Classes' W.E.A. nd. but late 1938.

of the W.E.A. during the inter-war years and for its collation of statistics for the early nineteen thirties. Among its recommendations there was an emphasis on more conscious planning of programmes of study, adequately differentiated to meet the needs of the students from elementary course to those of advanced study. The role of Districts in the enterprise was again emphasised and the importance of adequate, skilled and comprehensive organisation stressed. Further, its consideration of the objectives of Tutorial Classes reflected some of the reasons for its declining attraction. Not surprisingly, the problem was closely related to the interpretation of the university honours standard, a matter to which attention was given for several more years into the nineteen fifties.[1] In its literal interpretation, a university type course of study was considered unsuitable and inappropriate for adult students. The narrow objective of academic study without any interpretation or application to reality might create a detached, critical objectivity but contributed little to the understanding of the student attempting to apply the principles to social objectives in the service of the community. Thus the 1938 report reflected much of the concern and introspective consideration within the W.E.A. during the decade, and which was to continue in more acute form in the post-1945 period, not only with criticism of the inadequate intellectual standards in the educational activities of the W.E.A. but also with the criticisms of tutors and students of the failure in studies to relate theory and principles to any application to the reality of social and economic issues within the experiential dimension of the students and their environments.

However, in the Eastern District although these issues came to the surface on a variety of occasions, those of major importance during this

1. A debate on this topic and the role of the extra mural departments occupied much space in 1952-53 in Adult Education and the Highway.

period were in connection with sustaining the progress and growth of its educational activities and the creation of new relationships with the Board of Extra Mural Studies which, having assumed responsibility for Chapter III work in Bedfordshire and accepted a partial responsibility for similar courses in Cambridgeshire, was to seek providing powers for all counties in the District towards the end of the decade. Of immediate and equal significance for the District was the departure from office of key people who had participated in the formation, consolidation and maintenance of the District from its formative period. Of all those who were to leave the service of the District the appointment of Pateman to the Board of Extra Mural Studies in 1935 and the appointment of F.M. Jacques as his successor was to have fundamental consequences for the future of the District.

The County Federation in Bedfordshire

Relieved of its responsibility in rural Bedfordshire, the District set about the task of providing the "motive power" for students in the county through attempting to unite those rural Student Groups which Shearman had established and the Branches in the towns which had not been included in the Rural Scheme. To unite all W.E.A. interests a County Federation of Branches, Groups and affiliated Societies was established in March, 1930; the first organisation of its type in the District.

The idea arose partially from Muir's tour of all W.E.A. Districts in 1925 but also from Shearman's background. As the son of a Baptist minister in rural Northamptonshire, Shearman was used to the tradition of meetings on a district basis at various occasions each year which he recognised as important opportunities for small chapel groups to identify with a larger movement, gain much through the unity of contact, and be sustained through fellowship. He applied the idea to Bedfordshire Student

Groups and in 1929 held the first annual meeting at Bedford Modern School. With the encouraging response and the support from urban Branches, particularly from Wash and Liddle in Bedford, the Federation was conceived. Muir in 1925 had recommended area groupings within the larger Districts of the W.E.A. for the purpose of mutual support, organisation and propaganda. On his visit to the District in 1926 he and Pateman had discussed the proposal which had an attraction as a means of introducing an intermediate, voluntary, federal organisational tier which could be of considerable assistance in a widely dispersed, relatively low population density District.

The advantages of a County Federation were to become evident as the District recognised that in the constitution of the new Rural Areas Committee, one representative place was assured to represent the views of students in the county's classes. With the loss of control over the provision of courses in the rural areas, the District moved logically to a position in which it could ensure the involvement of the W.E.A. through the organisation of student demand, and the continuing influence of the movement through a united County Federation. Shortly after the transfer of the Bedfordshire scheme to the Board of Extra Mural Studies some misgivings arose over the transfer of providing powers to the Board and at a W.E.A. District Council meeting held in Bedford in January 1932, when the majority of members present came from Bedfordshire, there was an overwhelming rejection over the issue of the surrender of providing powers in rural Cambridgeshire to the Board.

Nevertheless, in Bedfordshire the arrangements appear to have worked well through the genial co-operation of the principals involved, particularly Shearman, who was conscious of the wider social objectives in providing liberal adult education in an area where enthusiasm and interest existed

and were being tapped for the first time. Shearman found that the "demand for classes had been more than could be met".

By 1935, the Federation had become the most effective organisation in the District attracting considerable attention from other areas some of which adopted similar arrangements. The Federation provided unity within the county and also gave a sense of being linked to a wider, national movement which had some importance for the isolated villages and attracted support and stimulated interest through the Federation which was held together by three key people: Wash as District Chairman until his departure in 1933, Bennet and Bygraves as Federation secretaries who maintained circulation of information about county activities to centres and who arranged the annual meetings addressed by national leaders in adult education.[1] Above all, Shearman performed the bridging function between the Extra Mural Board, as its resident tutor, and the District, as its Vice-Chairman, 1931-33 and Chairman 1933-35, during a period of experimentation which preceded the more competitive and difficult period beyond 1935 when W.E.A. members of the early period were no longer involved.

One of the most important aims of the Federation was to stimulate and promote membership of the W.E.A. The idea of "every student a branch member" was not realisable simply because at this stage most of the courses were arranged in centres and not Branches and one of the objects of the Federation was to overcome this deficiency.[2] In 1931, there were only four Branches: Bedford, Biggleswade, Dunstable, and Luton but there were twelve Student Groups in villages. By 1935, only one new Branch had been established - at Sandy - but the Biggleswade Branch had disbanded

1. L.E. Bygraves subsequently became a county councillor and Chairman of the F.E. Sub-committee of the L.E.A. until 1967. In conversation with Williams in 1966 he acknowledged the influence of the W.E.A. on him, when a young man, in the 1920-30 period.
2. Conversation with Wash, April, 1966.

and the number of Student Groups had increased to twenty one, out of a District total of forty three. In 1931, 74% of students were also Branch members in the District.[1] an encouraging proportion and indicative of a sense of purpose and commitment to the W.E.A., but it is extremely doubtful if the high Bedfordshire figure was reflected in the District average.

Nevertheless, the development of rural work by District standards was impressive. In 1931, the county had some twenty one courses an eloquent testimony to Shearman's vigour: more could have been arranged but for the inability to find tutors able to reach some villages. The two most popular subjects were History and Science, the latter particularly so with younger men, with whom Shearman worked hard to build up the movement. The record is not entirely one of sustained growth and success but by 1935 over thirty villages in the county had arranged at least a terminal course; eight had a record of continuous activity from the initiation of the scheme in 1927,[2] and one, Sandy, became a W.E.A. Branch with a Tutorial Class in 1935, possibly under the influence of the Federation's Chairman, H.G. Miller, who lived in the village.

Shearman's activities as the Board's resident tutor continued to expand. In his classes he always "said it was a W.E.A. class and I set out to build up a movement through the formation of Student Groups".[3] He also maintained a very low level of student fees to attract working people in the villages. His earlier work led to more advanced courses: Tutorial Classes and a variety of One Year and Terminal courses. One of his Tutorial Classes was held in Bedford from 1932 to 1935 on Saturday

1. Minute Book No. 2 District Council meeting 20 June, 1931.
2. These were: Eaton Socon, Dean, Carlton, Colmworth, Riseley, Potton, Sandy, Leighton Buzzard.
3. Conversation with Williams, September, 1976.

afternoons as it was the most convenient centre for the nineteen students drawn from twelve centres up to ten or so miles from the town. These students had pursued short courses in earlier years and this was an experimental Class to provide the kind of gradation in study which the W.E.A. was to promote in an attempt to systematise its provision throughout the nineteen thirties.

> "The Tutorial Classes in Bedfordshire lacked a strong industrial base ... they didn't know enough about it ... and so I set out to try to create Tutorial Classes on a village group basis..."[1]

This interesting experiment attracted considerable attention and the Class was visited by Tawney and, regularly, by the H.M.I. responsible for the District.

In 1933, the three year agreement between the Board and the L.E.A. was renewed for a further year, but all was not well as far as Baines, the County Director of Education, was concerned. He was dis-satisfied with both the personal contribution of the tutor and the decline in the number of courses and lectures provided under the scheme. The position is summarised in the following Table

Table 8:[2] Bedfordshire Rural Scheme 1930-34

Session	No. of Courses			No. of Lectures		
	Resident Tutor	Other Tutors	Total	Resident Tutor	Other Tutors	Total
1930-31	8	12	20	115	158	273
1931-32	6	11	17	104	153	257
1932-33	8	10	18	124	152	276
1933-34	5	9	14	91	151	242

1. Ibid.
2. Bedfordshire Adult Education Sub-Committee Report of Director of Education 6 July, 1934. Bedfordshire County Council Archives Department.

Baines complaint was simply that the full-time appointment of a tutor meant full-time service but the 1933-34 total of courses and lectures represented rather less than a full-time appointment and Shearman had provided other lectures in Huntingdonshire, Cambridgeshire and Northamptonshire. Further, the southern half of the county remained undeveloped. The arrangements were renewed but were contingent upon great commitment by Shearman to the County and to courses in its southern half.

However, in 1935, Shearman was appointed as National Education Officer for the W.E.A. and was replaced by Harold Plaskitt, an Article 11 tutor. Under Plaskitt, the southern half of the county was slowly developed through a pattern of lectures, short courses and One Year courses in new centres, but it was Shearman's earlier activity which led to the establishment of new W.E.A. Branches at Sandy, 1934, Leighton Buzzard, 1936, and at Biggleswade two years later. Problems arose in the county largely because Plaskitt's attitude was somewhat different from Shearman's. Some of the details are considered in Chapter 8, but en passant the problem arose through a failure of the new resident tutor and the Federation to co-operate, largely because Plaskitt did not openly seek to promote the W.E.A. as a movement, but concentrated his efforts on providing courses for students, a characteristic of the distinction which the W.E.A. always claimed as an inherent weakness in the organisation and attitude of extra-mural departments.

Further, although there were no problems over the formation of Student Groups under Shearman who encouraged students to become members of the W.E.A., the new tutor apparently actively discouraged membership of the W.E.A. The result was that when Jacques became District Secretary in 1935, he was concerned that in Bedfordshire, which had a larger number

of Student Groups than any other county, there was little financial contribution to the District's depleted funds from Student Groups because there was no obligation to do so.

Nevertheless, the eight years of Shearman's considerable commitment to the Bedfordshire scheme enabled the District to achieve a national reputation for its activities in rural areas and provided unequivocal evidence of the ability of the W.E.A. to organise successful schemes in rural areas provided it had the two crucial elements on which the Final Report 1919, had placed considerable emphasis. Firstly, a tutor of high quality yet sensitive and responsive to the particular and exceptional needs of adult students. Secondly, adequate finance through voluntary sources to experiment and establish new approaches to adult education which could be later supported from public funds. In Shearman all the essential requirements were fulfilled, and through the generous attitude of informed members of the Bedfordshire County Council the initiative of the Carnegie Trust was continued throughout the period.

Bedfordshire was the most successful and innovative county area in the District and had a class activity - population ratio of 0.3%. Although not dramatically high it did indicate a reasonable coverage of the main centres and large village populations as a result of Shearman's work from 1927 to 1935. Following the period of development and consolidation which came from Shearman's meticulous planning and attention to detail, additional strength came from the unified approach and mutual self-help which the active County Federation provided.

Plaskitt reported each year on classes, enrolment and, on occasions, the occupations of students in the rural areas. The statistics in Table 9 indicate that Bedfordshire was untypical of the District in that a

substantial proportion of the students were manual workers even in the mid-nineteen thirties.

Table 9

Bedfordshire: Occupational Categories of Students in Classes

Year	No. Classes	Domestic	Manual	Other	Total Students
1934-35	19	42%	32.5%	25.5%	394
1935-36	19	38	30	32	417
1936-37	23	33	34	33	488

In 1934-35 almost exactly one half of the manual students were agricultural workers, a similar proportion to the national W.E.A. survey of 47,000 students. The proportion of agricultural workers in the national survey total was 17% in 1934-35 compared with 19.6% for the 1931-35 period.

Further, the number of women enrolled in the domestic category was higher than in urban areas largely because of the greater opportunities for manual or industrial work in towns. In 1934-35, Plaskitt's figure of 394 was composed of 47% male students, and it is likely that the other years showed a similar ratio of women to men. The decline in the domestic enrolments in the following two years is in part reflective of the gradual national economic recovery and the increasing number of vacancies in the county, which, presumably, provided additional work-opportunities for women.

The Kettering Scheme

Concurrent with developments in rural Bedfordshire and East Suffolk, the Kettering scheme in its second decade wasawell established, flourishing enterprise providing adult education in the small towns, industrial villages, as well as rural areas of the county. Miss Green, with the support of Miss Stocks, continuing to provide much of the momentum in

maintenance of the existing centres and Branches, and under guidance from Miss Stocks and Pateman pioneered in new areas and villages in Huntingdonshire.

In 1931-32, she began with terminal courses at Wymington and St. Neots as well as providing seven other terminal courses in Northamptonshire. Fourteen single lectures enabled her to introduce the work of the District in a variety of places such as Huntingdon and Godmanchester in an attempt to place W.E.A. courses on an introductory basis in the county. Much of this work was encouraged by Pateman in support of the application to the Cassel Trustees for renewal of the grant for Miss Green. But in addition to her pioneer activities outside her usual territory she actively pursued the growth of activities in Corby. Her presence in Raunds a large boot and shoe centre was also highly visible through the formation of a Student Group in 1933-34 which led to a Tutorial Class there in 1934-35, taken by Frank Lee, the Extra Mural Board's first resident tutor in the county. She continued to play a major role in recruiting students for established as well as new classes in the Kettering area, and assisted tutors who were to take Tutorial Classes for which she lacked the necessary qualifications and talents.

The success of her work may have been partly responsible for what appeared to have been an unusual decision by the Board of Extra Mural Studies, in its appointment of Lee in 1931 as its resident tutor in Northamptonshire an already relatively well developed area by the W.E.A. Later that year, the Board also appointed W.P. Baker as resident tutor in rural Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely; an area virtually neglected by the District. The logic of the Baker appointment was demonstrable in that it was to an almost completely undeveloped area: but Lee's appointment was for other reasons. In a well-developed county, his task

was to provide liberal adult education "in association with voluntary bodies and particularly to assist in the work of Tutorial Classes".[1] Yet in this respect the number of Tutorial Classes in Northamptonshire exceeded that in any other county in the District. Of the twenty seven Tutorial Classes jointly provided by the District and Board in 1930-31, the year prior to his appointment, twelve were in Northamptonshire and the county enjoyed a good organisation and also had Miss Green who enjoyed an enviable local reputation as adult education organiser with close links with trade union branches and Co-operative Societies. By 1935, there were thirty one jointly provided Tutorial Classes in the District, of which only eleven were in Northamptonshire: a decline both in numerical and relative terms. Further, in no year between 1931 and 1936 did Lee take more than one Tutorial Class and not more than two Terminal courses a year.

Although there is no direct evidence at Botolph House, it would appear that the District assumed the Board was attempting to implement a development under which its resident tutor was to assume control of all Tutorial Class activities, from which Miss Green was excluded on academic criteria, and that he would also undertake some Chapter III work. His appointment presented a potential problem for the District which already regretted the surrender of its providing powers in Bedfordshire and it appeared possible that a similar development of the Board's expansion of provision in Chapter III work was imminent. The District's weakness in Northamptonshire was that Miss Green could not match the usual qualifications for resident tutors. It was known that there might be difficulties over the further renewal of the Cassel Trust grant and it is possible the Board believed either that it ought to provide its own resident tutor in

1. Eastern District Annual Report 1931-32 p.12.

anticipation of that eventuality or through its own programme of courses under Chapters II and III it might supersede the District as the providing body in Northamptonshire.

The District's response was to create, in October, 1932, a Federation on the Bedfordshire model to provide an organisation, with a unity of purpose and a co-ordinating mechanism for the W.E.A. in the county. The "wisdom of setting up a Federation ... is shown by the growing feeling of unity among those carrying on the work in the respective centres" claimed the 1933-34 District Annual Report and the educational provision by the Board was almost completely ignored. However, it was agreed that the District and Board should make a joint approach to the county L.E.A. to obtain increased financial support for adult education classes, but it proved to be unsuccessful.

In the 1933-34 Annual Report, the District for the first time introduced a distinction between those Chapter III courses which it arranged as the Responsible Body and those provided by the Board of Extra Mural Studies. Of the latter the majority were, of course, in Bedfordshire, but Lee that year provided a Terminal course at Wollaston which was omitted from the District's report, and which clearly posed some difficult questions for the new Federation in Northamptonshire, the District and Miss Green.

It was thought the appointment of Lee might jeopardise the continuing support of the Kettering Scheme by the Cassel Trust, particularly as the current renewal had not been a formality: a matter almost certainly known to the Board. Accordingly, the District encouraged Miss Green to extend her pioneering activities into West Huntingdonshire and North Bedfordshire which were of easy access by rail. The initiative was made much of in

the subsequent application for renewal of grant to the Association which negotiated grants from the Cassel Trustees for various W.E.A. schemes in the country.

The earlier problem of securing a renewal of the Cassel Trust grant led to Miss Green extending her pioneering activities in West Huntingdonshire, in the area contiguous with the eastern boundary of the Kettering scheme, "a poor county, thinly populated, neglected by all organisations other than Women's Institutes".[1] Although travelling was both difficult and costly, the District pressed forward with the scheme to honour their promise to the Cassel Trustees and to establish a presence in the one county in its area in which there was no record of W.E.A. activity and into which the Board might move. The plan was to provide a series of short afternoon courses for women taken by Miss Green in W.I. groups followed by evening lectures in villages and towns within easy reach of the railway network connecting Kettering, Huntingdon and Peterborough.

However, a crisis arose in the autumn of 1931 and the District and Miss Green were again in dispute. The appointment of Lee earlier in the year, the District's pressure for an extension into Huntingdonshire which was not to Miss Green's liking and an unexplained and unforeseen delay in the meeting of the Cassel Trustees at which the renewal of grants, including the Kettering scheme, created considerable anxiety for her. She expressed alarm over doubts about the renewal of the grant and had been embarrassed to discover that Miss Stocks, should the grant not be renewed, had offered to attempt to find her salary through a subscription list of subscribers sympathetic to the W.E.A. It is also clear that she

1. Memo from Pateman to Ernest Green, late 1931.

had also discovered for the first time of Miss Stocks original undertaking in 1919 to contribute to her salary. Her reaction was unfavourable: she was confident of finding alternative employment (probably through returning to trade union activities) and she had partly foreseen the possibility, from a different threat, in the appointment of Lee in the county which could lead to her being redundant. But she was not prepared to consider moving to Huntingdonshire to develop the work there even if the District wished it.

Pateman's immediate response was placatory and Wash confirmed that the grant was for the scheme and not for Miss Green. Further, there was no suggestion that she should move to Huntingdonshire as the accessible area of that county was incidental to the substantive area around Kettering. If the grant were not renewed, the District undertook to continue her services until she found alternative employment - a most generous gesture in view of the current level of unemployment the District's financial position and typical of Wash.

As usual, the District consulted Ernest Green and although he had many misgivings about the justification for further renewal, he managed to secure one for theee more years. The issue was fundamentally about the continuing nature of the Scheme on the basis of the original 1919 criterion for grant for "pioneering" work in adult education. After twelve years of direct funding it was arguably well beyond the original stage, but the exaggerated, and largely untrue, extension into Huntingdonshire, deliberately enlarged to provide evidence of breaking new ground in an admittedly difficult area, carried the day in the further renewal.[1]

1. Letter from Miss Green to Pateman, 11 November, 1933: "It will be remembered that on the appointment of Mr. Lee, I had to go into Hunts. in order to prove that I was doing pioneer work"

There followed an uneasy period in Northamptonshire and relations between Miss Green and Frank Lee clearly deteriorated in the following two years. Miss Green needed patient, sympathetic treatment, but Lee had "no patience with her or regard for her limited ability" and Miss Green regarded him "as an enemy" and a direct threat to her continued appointment.[1] However, in spite of their personal antipathy, neither was really the author of the wider issues. There was a clear absence of clarity and definition in the role of the District's tutor and in that of the Board's. This inevitably affected both tutors and the distinction between them and their activities was not only unclear to them but even more pronounced to students. The original distinction between Chapter II and III courses, essentially one of standards, disappeared immediately the Board entered the field of Chapter III provision. At first, at least, there was some attempt at co-operation. Lee paid a generous tribute to the work of the District, and by implication to Miss Green, in an article in the 'Northamptonshire Teachers Magazine', summer 1933: "Inevitably, the W.E.A. although it performed miracles had to leave some areas unprovided for, particularly westwards of Northampton." He was, in effect, staking a claim to areas untouched by the Kettering Scheme and appeared to be conciliatory in attitude, appealing to teachers in the county to enrol for new courses under Chapter II, rather than the more elementary classes provided under Chapter III by the District. It is possible that in the absence of a measurable response, Lee was forced to abandon his intentions of developing the west of the county away from the traditional District area. Whatever the intention the reality was different: he chose to live in central Northamptonshire and there is no record of any classes being organised to the West of Northampton, in the District's reports.

1. Conversation between Shearman and Williams, September, 1976.

The question of Miss Green's status, which had hardly mattered before Lee's appointment, became an issue for her and she suffered from two major handicaps as "a member of the working class, ... and I am a woman".[1] Another major problem, substantially the same as in 1931 but now confirmed through her experience, was that reality had proved to be as bleak as the prospect. Yet again, another crisis arose over her position and status and by late 1933 the District and the Association, this time A.S. Firth then General Secretary, were involved in her problems. Her educational limitations placed her in a difficult position vis a vis Lee, and she asked the District to define her role as tutor-organiser and to be precise about her security of employment. Without academic qualifications she knew that she could not be recognised by the Board of Extra Mural Studies as a tutor for Tutorial Classes. But awareness of it did not lessen her regret and anger, and she was upset because her own valuation of skills as a tutor-organiser was not reflected in the attitudes of the officers of the District. She gave full rein to such feelings in her letter to Pateman of 11 November, 1933, presumably for the intended consumption of the Executive Committee, and believed she could justifiably claim that

> "Until Mr. Lee started his group this season in Towcester, there was not a centre of W.E.A. activity in Northants. that I had not actually started, with the exception of Peterborough, and I worked there two winters helping to establish the Branch. I do not wish to over estimate my work or under estimate the work of others, but if my work has not been important why are there not Branches in Northants. outside the area of my activity?"

It might have been the anniversary of Armistice Day, but Miss Green was on the offensive.

In addition to being demonstrably true, the letter revealed her pre-occupation with status which she obviously thought was threatened by Lee

1. Letter to Jacques May, 1938. Although 5 years later it represents a long held view and her hyper sensitivity on this matter.

and also, in this respect she was blameless, showed little understanding of the weak financial position of the District. She failed to grasp the stark fact that the W.E.A., in common with all voluntary organisations, had much greater resources of enthusiasm than finance. This weakness became particularly apparent when the Extra Mural Board also with considerable enthusiasm, secure finance and well qualified tutors expanded its activities into Chapter III work, with the capacity to select and fund its own initiatives. The W.E.A., on the other hand, had always found it necessary, as it does even today, to engage the interest and then enlist the financial support of other organisations, including philanthropic trusts, reluctant labour organisations, responsive L.E.A.s, and a less than enthusiastic Board of Education. In the nineteen thirties the idea that the extra mural activities of universities in the field of liberal adult education were to be conducted in partnership with the W.E.A. was still a novel and attractive one to which all Responsible Bodies and other providers were committed - at least in principle, if not always in practice - in promoting the development of provision.

Certainly, Shearman subscribed to this view in a memorandum on the Kettering Scheme prepared for the District Executive Committee and, possibly, the national Association, in response to Miss Green's vituperative letter of 11 November, 1933. The memorandum was undated but was probably written within a week or so of Miss Green's letter. In it he referred to the co-operative activities of the District and Board in Northamptonshire:

> "But it does mean the slackening of W.E.A. control, and it therefore means that our own organisation needs to be stronger because the actual responsibility in such areas is no longer our own. The presence of a University Tutor in Northamptonshire was intended as a source of strength to the adult education movement there. It should set free much of our energy in that area for propaganda. But the situation cannot continue except on terms of frank co-operation on both sides."

Shearman, in attempting to represent the reality of the new situation,

was the most influential person in this dispute but not all his contemporaries elsewhere shared his views nor were so sanguine about the extended role of universities in their participation in Chapter III work.[1] He could hardly have adopted a different stance since it was identical with the one taken over the Bedfordshire arrangements only four years earlier which he had actively supported and also the major beneficiary.

Although it was accepted that Miss Green's difficulties lay in her temperament, and some were undoubtedly exaggerated, it was acknowledged that the appointment of Lee had made the position over provision of District classes more complex and the distinction between those provided by the District and the Board under Chapter III more difficult to distinguish. There is no evidence to suggest that the District and Board discussed ways in which this might be done, or considered the kind of forward planning required to meet criticisms of unsystematic provision. In Northamptonshire, there was no clear improvement in the position during the next few years and a further complication arose in that both Pateman and Miss Green were providing Miss Stocks, then Chairman of the Northamptonshire Federation, with their own versions of the difficulties.[2] Prompted and disturbed by the correspondence, Miss Stocks went to see Firth, who had been alerted earlier to that possibility by Pateman.[3]

Unfortunately, there is no record of meetings, discussions or activities on the issue, but it can be reasonably assumed that the District wished to avoid an open conflict both with Miss Green, the Board and also the newly established county Federation.[4] Further, it is almost certain

1. See Thompson's letter to Jacques Chapter 8, p.534 1938.
2. Letter Miss Stocks to Pateman, 27 October, 1933, and Letter Miss Stocks to A.S. Firth, 16 November, 1933.
3. Firth to Pateman, 17 November, 1933.
4. There is no record of the Federation being informed, consulted, or even referred to in existing correspondence or minutes.

that Firth, as the then new General Secretary wished to avoid being involved in a domestic quarrel, however important it might be in a deteriorating relationship between the Board of Extra Mural Studies and the W.E.A. over the former's expansion in Chapter III work. More importantly perhaps, was a wish to avoid the quarrel becoming public knowledge at a time when the Cassel Trustees had been reluctantly persuaded to support the renewal of the Kettering grant. He must also have been concerned that disclosure would almost certainly prejudice other W.E.A. requests for grants in aid of pioneer work in other areas. Finally, both the District and the Association were conscious of the growth of short university extension courses in a number of other Districts, a matter for concern as the Board of Education's interpretation of the Regulations were not as rigorously applied as might have been expected. The possible loss of Miss Green to the District at that time might well have left a clear field for the Cambridge Board to take the initiative in the provision of short course activities through the presence of its own active resident tutor.

With such considerations in the minds of Shearman, Wash and Pateman the Executive Committee in December, 1933, had little alternative, but to re-affirm Miss Green's appointment as tutor-organiser, and emphasise that the District was responsible for the financial arrangements of the Scheme and her salary.[1] Further, on the issue of her status and prestige she was invited to discuss with Pateman how best to publicise her activities in the county, to clarify her position as tutor, and to address the half-yearly Council meeting in Cambridge the following month.[2]

1. Letter from Pateman to Miss Green, 19 December, 1933. Eastern District Minute Book No. 3 District Executive meeting 9 December, 1933, Min 331.
2. Miss Green had complained that during her many years of service she had never been invited to speak at a District meeting. Others, and by implication less knowledgeable and worthy, had been so invited - she regarded the issue as an important one and, inevitably, linked to her status.

Finally, the District re-iterated its complete confidence in her as its tutor-organiser. Her response was cool and she accepted the clarification of her position without enthusiasm.[1]

The problem in Northamptonshire was illustrative of a wider issue developing throughout the country of University intervention in Chapter III work which had been encouraged under the 1932 Adult Education Regulations. In the Eastern District, at least, it created major difficulties and led to a situation of direct competition and a struggle for pre-eminence in which the difficulties in Northamptonshire represented the first phase.

The problem in Northamptonshire of two ostensibly co-operating providing bodies for liberal adult education was shelved simply because the officers of the District and members of the Cambridge Board were still apparently attempting to formulate a policy of co-existence in which both bodies could fully participate and mutually support. For the W.E.A., the problem was becoming more difficult and yet the national Association had not evolved a clear policy on its relationships with extra mural departments. Nevertheless, in the Eastern District it was obvious that as early as 1932-33 the Kettering Scheme was in a vulnerable position, not merely because of the difficulty in sustaining the original criterion of 'pioneering' adult education provision after thirteen years, but also because the new chairman of the Cassel Trustees regarded the universities as the providing body for adult education and not the W.E.A., a growing attitude shared among L.E.A.s.[2] Lee's presence in Northamptonshire from 1931 and the growing activities of the Cambridge Board, perhaps originally

1. Miss Green's letter to Pateman, 20 December, 1933.
2. Letter from Firth to Pateman, 23 October, 1933, in which he was very dubious about renewal of the Kettering Scheme beyond May, 1935.

co-operative, appeared to reflect the developing view that it was the University and not the District which was the more able to undertake the organisation and provision of liberal adult education. Northamptonshire appeared to be a logical development of the expediency adopted over Bedfordshire in 1930.

Miss Green continued to provide courses in the Kettering area and returned to Corby with greater success which led to the Branch being re-formed in 1936. Her reluctant pioneering activity in Huntingdonshire also led to courses at Eaton Socon, St. Neots and Huntingdon and the Cassel grant was renewed yet again. But most of her courses were in the Kettering area and it was not until 1937 that the Huntingdonshire L.E.A. gave its first small grant to assist courses in that county. Following the resolution of her dispute with the District in 1933, Miss Green appeared to lose enthusiasm for pioneering new courses. Afterwards, few new centres were established and she concentrated her effort in the established Branches and in the development at Corby, a rapidly expanding steel manufacturing centre. The final period in the Kettering Scheme came when the Cassel Trustees gave approval to a renewal in 1938 intended to taper the grant from its original figure of £100 in that year to a final instalment of £50 in 1940. It was not required as Miss Green resigned her appointment in December, 1939. The problems of 1932-33 had not been capable of solution and the Cassel decision prompted her resignation, but it was yet again a moment of acrimony. Miss Stocks was at odds with the District over the Cassel Trust decision which she believed had not been resisted and several members of the Kettering Branch, which had not been consulted by the District, wrote to protest about the implications of the loss of Miss Green's services. It was a miserable severance with a tutor who had given sterling, if academically limited service for twenty years to the cause of workers' education in

the District, but she was appreciated in her area in ways which had eluded her at District level.

> "Miss Green means the W.E.A. to hundreds of people. In her largeness of heart and her sincere desire to help all who needed it, Miss Green has never spared herself".[1]

It was a tribute deserved by a woman who had placed the individual working class student at the heart of all her endeavours.

The East Suffolk Rural Scheme

The successful conclusion to the District's three year rural experiment in Bedfordshire meant that the Carnegie Trust's agreement to a continuation of the £500 annual grant for a similar period to finance a similar appointment in another rural area became a reality. Fortunately for the District the continuation of the Bedfordshire scheme had been assured before the end of the grant, and thus the Trustees had declared their intentions in April, 1930, a few months before they re-appraised their existing policy of grant-aid for W.E.A. rural schemes.[2]

The re-appraisal appears to have arisen from an ambitious and injudiciously expanded programme for twelve new rural schemes submitted to the Carnegie Trust by the national W.E.A. Extending over a further period of three years, the proposed programme amounted to a total expenditure of £18,000. Not surprisingly, the Trustees became more than a little hesitant over entering such a considerable commitment. The Trustees were also equivocal about financing schemes which either promoted developments in areas in which there was every possibility of success or to support others in benighted districts where there was little visible enthusiasm or support for development from the L.E.A.s or other Bodies.

1. Letter from Mrs. Parish of Kettering to Jacques, 22 December, 1939.
2. Approval to the renewal of the grant was reported at the District Executive Committee meeting 10 May, 1930, and the committee decided to appoint a resident tutor for East Suffolk. Minute Book No. 2.

Colonel J.M. Mitchell, Secretary to the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust, favoured a mixture of both approaches

> "I confess that I am far from clear as to my own preference as between experiments in areas already hopeful, and missionary work in the dark places. I see arguments for both, and I shall urge consideration of extending our very interesting and illuminating experiment in both directions".[1]

It was a genuine dilemma for the Trust. If schemes were sponsored only in areas where L.E.A.s were favourably disposed to assist developments in adult education then it was questionable if the expenditure could be justified as necessary. But in Bedfordshire, at least, it is very doubtful if the W.E.A. would have initiated the scheme from its own resources, and equally unlikely that the L.E.A., ab initio, would have financially underwritten an enterprise of that kind over a period of three years. On the other hand, if the Trust undertook only schemes of a "missionary nature", the commitment could conceivably extend over a longer period than intended, simply to show some kind of success for the original funding, or if withdrawn at the end of the normal three-year term the risk of failure, and thus criticism of wasteful expenditure, would arise.

As far as the W.E.A. was concerned, the over-riding consideration was to ensure successful outcomes of all the schemes it promoted with the assistance of the Trustees: success which included the assumption of responsibility at the conclusion of the funded period by an L.E.A. or University or a joint scheme as in Bedfordshire.

The Bedfordshire continuative arrangements were especially noteworthy and gratifying at national level of the W.E.A. because it involved two of the three major providing partners in adult education continuing

1. In a letter to Ernest Green, 5 June, 1930.

arrangements which had been initiated and carried through with considerable publicly acknowledged success, and with little expenditure, by the third partner. Apparently, Green was not aware at that time of the handing over of Chapter III providing powers in Bedfordshire and saw the co-operative enterprise between the University and the L.E.A. as a logical and natural solution.[1]

In July, 1930, the Carnegie Trustees refused to support any new scheme partly because

> "a comprehensive scheme covering twelve new areas in which the attitudes of the several Local Education Authorities varied from the progressive to the completely inactive, could not be regarded as an experiment in the true sense of the term. Authorities in other counties which were adopting a progressive policy would have a legitimate grievance".[2]

The continuation of the Carnegie Trust grant in the Eastern District might thus have been regarded by Wash and Pateman as a fortuitous benefit gained by the agreement which they had concluded without delay or difficulty with the Board of Extra Mural Studies over the providing powers issue. Failure to have done so would have led to prolonged discussion and, conceivably, prevented the continuation of the Bedfordshire scheme and Shearman's appointment as an extra-mural university tutor.

The decision to appoint the new District resident tutor in East Suffolk is not well documented. Certainly, it was argued that the centre of gravity of influence and attention had been too evidently concentrated in the western half of the District's region, and particularly in the

1. See Chapter 7, pp.510.
2. Colonel Mitchell's letter to Ernest Green, 23 July, 1930.

most populous area.[1] Until 1924, there had been a balance between the eastern and western area reflected in the appointment of Chairmen from Ipswich, but in that year both Chairman and Vice-Chairman embodied a shift of emphasis to the western side of the District.[2] In such a large region, with inadequate communications and, little opportunity for honorary officers of the District to visit the wide dispersed Branches in the District, it was not unnatural for the problems and opportunities for development to be concentrated within the experience of those members of the Executive Committee, and thus lead to greater attention being given to their own districts, rather than the relatively remote, thinly populated wide tracts of East Anglia.

In retrospect, the superficial similarities between the counties of Bedfordshire and East Suffolk, each with a large vigorous Branch in the county town, influential in local affairs, and capable of providing good organisational support which would serve as a springboard for rural development, masked fundamental differences which were to contribute to the failure of the East Suffolk scheme to duplicate the success achieved in the earlier project.

It was undeniable that the Ipswich Branch was one of the most active and successful in the District. From the creation of the District, it had always been a vigorous Branch with a large membership, and had a

1. The concentration of effort was, of course, in the most promising areas for courses, in which the existence of local branches of trade unions and co-operative societies provided nuclei of working class interest: broadly the large towns of Cambridge, Bedford and Northampton and its nearby industrial villages. Nevertheless, Norwich was the only city with a population in excess of 100,000 and Ipswich's population was circa 80,000. The pre-occupation with developments in the western half of the District led to neglect of East Anglia, a point emphasised by Newlove, who felt isolated in north Norfolk, in conversation with Williams, August, 1965.
2. The first two Chairman of the District, Hutley and Fletcher were from the Ipswich Branch. In 1924, Wash (Bedford) became Chairman and the Vice-Chairman was the Rev. H. Hurst of the Northampton Branch who was succeeded by Miss Helen Stocks (Kettering Branch) in 1926.

continuous record of educational work through its courses and conferences arranged in connection with national educational issues. During the nineteen-twenties it arranged every year two Tutorial Classes and two or three One Year or Terminal Courses, but it had, under a variety of circumstances, developed an existence virtually independently of the District and was opposed of any attempt to vitiate the traditional autonomy of the W.E.A. Branch. It had regularly opposed the development of the District's organisation and the consequential centralising tendencies, particularly following the introduction of the Adult Education Regulations which required the District, as the Responsible Body for Chapter III courses, to approve syllabuses, the appointment of class tutors and to require statistical returns for Board of Education grant purposes. The early attempts by the Branch to undertake extension of W.E.A. courses into surrounding villages has been noted[1] and it is possible that the Ipswich Branch pressed the District for the appointment of the new resident tutor to be made to East Suffolk.

However, a crucially important difference between Bedfordshire and East Suffolk was the absence in the latter county of an informal network of relationships between the officers of the District and members of the county council and its officers. Neither the Chairman of the District nor its Vice-Chairman knew the county and Pateman's links with the L.E.A. were tenuous and formal, lacking the regular contact and financial support which existed in the precursor stages in Bedfordshire. These had to be developed concurrently with the new scheme and the latter enterprise clearly suffered from the absence of earlier understanding and rapport with members and officers of the L.E.A. Further, there was no commitment by the L.E.A. for financial support for the new scheme.

1. Chapter 3,

In the summer of 1930, the District proceeded with its plans for the appointment of its new tutor and William Whiteley was selected from a large field of applicants. He had most of the necessary W.E.A. credentials. A student in W.E.A. Tutorial Classes in Rugby, arranged through the Cambridge Tutorial Classes Committee and thus he was known to the District. He had also been awarded the James Stuart Exhibition at Trinity College, Cambridge in 1929-30 and was well-known to Pateman.

Whiteley's arrival at Ipswich in September, 1930, was an occasion for considerable enthusiasm within the Branch. With their assistance, his early months were particularly encouraging and he followed the Bedfordshire pattern, concentrating on establishing his presence, outlining W.E.A. policies, and creating a network of contacts in rural areas. The county library and the Women's Institutes were particularly co-operative and the demand for lectures exceeded his capacity to meet them. By the end of his first year in the county, he had given more than sixty lectures mainly in villages, over twenty to W.I.'s and conducted five short courses in villages near Ipswich.[1] The prospects in East Suffolk for the second year appeared to be particularly encouraging for the development of more sustained activity in the rural areas around Ipswich. In the second and third years, now equipped with a car, he developed a different emphasis, again somewhat similar to the Bedfordshire development, by increasing his concentration on more sustained study through seven short courses and a few Terminal courses. He continued to provide many single lectures, over twenty in each of these years, to introduce villages to the possibility of more sustained study opportunities under the aegis of the District organisation and from which it was hoped new centres would grow. Several centres were established, with short

1. The courses were arranged at: Kettering, Knodishall, Middleton (two) and Yoxford.

courses on social issues at villages such as Haughley, Hollesley Bay, Waldringfield and Stratford St. Mary. Not all courses were taken by Whiteley and in some villages requests could not be met because of difficulties of tutors over accessibility. At Leiston, for example, Whiteley managed to arrange for A.S. Neill to provide a well-supported Terminal course in Psychology. But he failed to establish any courses other than the Terminal type largely because of a failure to create student groups who would accept responsibility for organisation of local demand.

Whiteley also became an influential member of the Ipswich Branch and was associated with some of its attitudes a situation not entirely regarded with the approbation by the officers of the District. For example, at the annual general meeting of the District in June, 1932, he introduced an Ipswich resolution calling for an encouragement of foreign travel at District level "thereby proving its belief that education is not merely a matter of attending lectures, classes and discussion circles during the winter months".[1] It was thought by some to be an ill-judged resolution at a time of massive unemployment and from a man who had been appointed by the District simply to do the very things which the resolution appeared to discount and certainly ran counter to the traditional attitudes to study held to be of paramount importance by the W.E.A. He also supported another Ipswich resolution at the following year's annual general meeting, that written work in Tutorial Classes should be on an elective basis to encourage more students to attend classes.[2] This resolution,

1. Minute Book No. 3 District Annual General Meeting, Magdalene College, 4 June, 1932.
2. Minute Book No. 3 District Annual General Meeting, Cheshunt College, 17 June, 1933 Min 96. The Ipswich Branch resolution was proposed by Mr. Whitmore and was pressed at the W.E.A. National Conference at Bristol, November, 1933, where it was heavily defeated and thus the District Council at its meeting in January, 1934, took no further action and appeared not to have discussed the matter at all.

unwelcome to people like Pateman and Shearman, was referred to the District Council, an overt delaying tactic to avoid open conflict at the meeting; but there can be little doubt that Whiteley aligned himself with the Ipswich Branch in such matters which added to the growing unfavourable impression of his work and the failure to extend and consolidate his activities in East Suffolk.

By the end of the 1932-33 session, the grant-aid limit fixed by the Board of Education at the 1931-32 level had been increased by a mere £50 for the whole District, and a 'pooling' scheme was introduced to assist in the financing of new classes. This meant that in real terms, grants to support One Year, Terminal and short courses had been reduced by at least 3% but not the 10% feared. But in 1933 the District had yet again an adverse balance of almost £50 on the year's activities and in June the Board of Education confirmed that the 1933-34 programme would be pegged at the previous year's level. This effectively meant that the District's finance for courses was limited to the 1931-32 level and a serious matter for the growth and development of the East Suffolk scheme as Whiteley's courses were arranged entirely under the District's providing powers for Chapter III and thus controlled by the amounts available under the Board of Education's general grant-earning limit. Expansion was almost impossible and the likelihood of a further renewal of the Carnegie Trust's grant bleak.

Pateman attempted to secure a renewal and received an offer for continuation for a further year at the reduced figure of £400 or £450 if the District were able to maintain the scheme for two years.[1] Pateman also took informal soundings at L.E.A. level through the Secretary, H.M.

1. Minute Book No. 3 District Executive Committee 7 July, 1933.

Spink, who was also a part-time tutor for a Tutorial Class in Ipswich and known to be sympathetic to the W.E.A. and Whiteley's activities. But the promise of direct financial assistance, the objective of the District's approach, was not forthcoming. Pateman was instructed by the Executive Committee to make informal approaches on the Bedfordshire pattern for a tripartite arrangement whereby Whiteley's salary would be jointly underwritten by the District, Extra Mural Board, and the L.E.A. for a further year following the termination of the grant-aided rural scheme in August, 1934. The response, however, was discouraging and in June, 1934, a District deputation of Wash, Shearman and Pateman met the East Suffolk Higher Education Committee to discuss the urgent need to increase the L.E.A. grant to contribute to Whiteley's salary for the following year. The County's Higher Education Committee would agree only to a small and inadequate increase in specific grants for classes and were not prepared to make a contribution to Whiteley's salary until the scheme had become established in the county.[1] In the face of this circular argument there was no alternative but to suspend the East Suffolk scheme. Predictably, the Ipswich Branch informed the District that in recognition of the importance of adult education in rural areas and the valuable pioneering work of Whiteley during the previous three years, he should continue to be employed in the area. Various appeals were made and by October, 1934, the Ipswich Branch had raised about £38 towards the costs of a rural class programme in East Suffolk and the Board of Extra Mural Studies had been approached for a grant of £50 for similar purposes. No response was forthcoming from the Board who were then intent on other developments. The L.E.A., too, was not prepared to increase its estimated figure of £70 for grants for classes taken by Whiteley and his position was immediately extremely restricted and with little prospect of improvement.

1. Minute Book No. 3 District Executive Meeting 28 July, 1934. The grants were increase to One Year £10, Terminal £4. 10s, Short Terminal £1. 5s.

In July, 1935, Whiteley applied for the appointment of District Secretary which became vacant on Pateman's appointment to the Board, but the District looked elsewhere for its new Secretary and the appointment went to F.M. Jacques of Maidenhead. Somewhat surprisingly, Whiteley became Vice-Chairman of the District in 1936 but held the office for a few months only befo re moving to a tutor's appointment in Manchester. The East Suffolk scheme thus lapsed and little W.E.A. activity was organised for rural areas until the early nineteen fifties, although a temporary resident tutor was appointed to the county during the 1939-45 war.

The failure of the East Suffolk scheme served to emphasise the complete dependence of the W.E.A.'s initiative in rural areas on financial support either from L.E.A.s or philanthropic Trusts and the importance of which had been emphasised in the Final Report 1919. In the effort to secure support, it was also evident that the role of the tutor and his ability to engage both the interest and support of adult students was crucial not merely in the creation of a network of centres for the provision of classes but also in genuine support of a social movement for working class education to provide a motivating idealism which would be self-sustaining and progressive. Shearman exemplified the success of these twin objectives but it appears that Whiteley, although a worthy man and fully committed to the aims of the W.E.A., lacked the personality and ability to generate enthusiasm for the W.E.A. Shearman believed that "he was not well cast in the role as a rural tutor, lacked a rural background, the evangelical touch and was rather reserved", and thus was not the best of appointments for that demanding and difficult appointment.[1]

1. Shearman's conversation with Williams, September, 1976.

New Officers and Renewed Vigour

For the Eastern District, the early nineteen thirties proved to be a period of remarkable change for the leading personalities who had been intimately connected with its formation and establishment during its formative years. Their successors, with new ideas and more radical intellectualism over the social purpose of adult education sought fresh ways to consolidate and expand the activities of the District.

In 1931, F.R. Salter, the honorary treasurer from 1919, was replaced by Lionel Elvin, Trinity Hall, Cambridge, who brought not merely a determination to establish financial self-sufficiency but also an incisive determination to develop new policies for the District. Wash resigned as Chairman in 1934 when he left the District and was replaced by Shearman whose abilities were evident in the ways in which the District overcame the loss of Pateman when he became Assistant Secretary to the Cambridge Board of Extra Mural Studies in the summer of 1935. Although Shearman was Chairman only until 1936, when he became the W.E.A.'s National Education Officer, he was instrumental in appointing Pateman's successor, F.M. Jacques, the present District Secretary.

For Pateman the offer of an appointment with the Cambridge Board was understandably irresistible. Apart from the cachet of a university appointment which followed the award of an honorary M.A. by the University in 1934 in recognition for his many years of service to adult education, the position offered security, and an improved, guaranteed salary all of which had been uncertain as District Secretary. Further, his duties were largely a continuation of those which he had undertaken for several years: administrative responsibility for Tutorial Classes and arrangements for the annual Cambridge Summer School. To these were added an enduring interest largely frustrated during his years as District Secretary -

responsibility for the development of Chapter III courses to be provided by the Board in rural areas. His acceptance meant a considerable change in status but a continuation of occupancy of the existing room at Stuart House.

Although there is no documentation of the reasons for the appointment it appears that the initiative for it came from Shearman. Aware of the arrangements at the Oxford Delegacy where Cartwright was the Secretary for Tutorial Classes, Shearman sought to use that precedent to establish his counterpart at Cambridge. Discussions with Hickson initially about the possibility of a similar appointment at Cambridge were unpromising, but Shearman persisted because

> "we were in no position to ensure any security for Pateman ... he had built up the District but had perhaps nearly exhausted his pioneering drive".[1]

Shearman's motives were to secure Pateman's future to whom the District owed an enormous debt of gratitude for years of difficult and painstaking effort and at the same time, if possible, to arrange for an appointment of a new District Secretary to re-vitalise the life and activity of the District. After further informal discussion with Hickson, Pateman and the national Association, the appointment was offered and accepted by Pateman who filled a vacancy which had existed since Hickson's own appointment as Secretary to the Board in 1928. Pateman was then aged 46 and had been District Secretary for twenty two of those years.

For the District, the appointment raised several problems. In addition to the question of a successor who would infuse a new enthusiasm and energetic approach to the District's work acknowledged as vital, there was the offsetting loss of Pateman's unrivalled knowledge and experience

1. Shearman in a letter to Williams, September, 1976.

throughout the District and his recognised value as an effective, co-operative colleague in the partnership in adult education between the District and the Board. Both the Board and District had worked closely together from the earliest period and Pateman had been an effective, and some believed compliant, partner in the development of the jointly provided activities. There was also apprehension over the new necessity to establish an explicit and visible distinction between the District and the Board and their respective roles, recognised as a less than easy task at a time when the earlier co-operation was beginning to be eroded under the operation of the revised 1932 Regulations.

The use by the District, and the hidden subsidy involved, of accommodation in Stuart House could not be continued; the question of the joint secretaryship of the Tutorial Classes Committee presented some difficulties, and the honorarium paid to Pateman was obviously to be discontinued for his successor. The realisation that a new set of relationships would be necessary at formal and informal levels between the Board and District did little to reduce the apprehension felt at District level.

For Shearman, however, the major concern was the selection of the new District Secretary who would provide enthusiasm, commitment and purpose to the W.E.A. in the District to remedy the position of an impoverished District "sustained by a very small number of rather weak Branches dispersed over a very wide area ... most of the Branches were struggling".[1]

From a large and well qualified list of applicants, F.M. Jacques, aged 35, was appointed at a salary of £250 which was £50 below the

1. Ibid.

nationally recommended minimum for District Secretaries. His personal background was attractive: three contested General Elections at Newbury and Watford, membership of Maidenhead Town Council and Chairman of its Library Committee provided evidence of his quality and involvement in public life. A former student and tutor of W.E.A. Tutorial and One Year Classes; Chairman of the Berkshire, Buckinghamshire and Oxford Divisional Committee of the W.E.T.U.C., for which he qualified as a member of the Railway Clerks Association, and a recommendation from Tawney for his appointment convinced the appointing committee that he possessed both the background, experience and personal qualities required by the District. Shearman claimed later that "it was one of the finest appointments I have ever made".[1]

Some of the earlier problems were immediately resolved on the day of the appointment in July, 1935. Agreement to lease suitable District offices in Cambridge led to a tenancy of rooms at Cambridgeshire House, Cambridge, which continued as the District Office for thirty years until the transfer to the present and more adequate premises at Botolph House.

Unfortunately, Jacques had the worst possible start to his new appointment. He was involved in two motoring accidents, both serious, within eighteen months. On both occasions, his injuries required enforced absences of several weeks and during each Pateman generously assumed his administrative duties. The curtailment of his activities did not prevent Jacques from thinking around the problems of the District and the situation in which he found himself. He busied himself with the setting of new objectives for the District: in terms of its activities and organisation but above all, simply because it was most pressing, to find new sources

1. Shearman in conversation with Williams, October, 1965.

of finance and funding of classes essential if the District were to survive and then broaden its range to cover the whole area.

Without the subsidies provided by the Board over Pateman's salary and accommodation, the District urgently required new sources of income. In 1935, the general account was almost £100 in deficit and the overdue reform of the District's system of accounting came towards the end of 1936 with the introduction of an annual budget determined in advance, with each Branch and Student Group being set a monetary target to be raised each year to avoid a continuing deficit in the District. This "quota system" set higher commitments to fund-raising for most Branches and Groups. Although most centres protested strongly and a few encountered difficulties in reaching the quota figures, within three years the District achieved a balanced financial situation and began to accumulate small surpluses.

The quota system was based on a simple formula comprising two distinct elements: a basic rate of 1/- per 1,000 population in the area served by the Branch plus a capitation sum according to Branch/class membership.[1] In addition, Branch members paid annual subscriptions, as well as class fees, of which 20% was retained by the Branch to meet expenses, 40% went to the District and the other 40% to the National Association. After the payment of dues and quota, any surplus from fees,

1. The per capita fees were calculated on average Branch and class membership. Further the capitation fees varied according to size of the Branch e.g. Cambridge, the largest Branch, in 1937-38 had a quota of £24.4s.8d. derived from a membership of 270, a class membership of 232, giving an average of 251. The population of Cambridge at that time was 67,000 to provide the other element. Thus the sum was calculated as follows:-

Population element:	67 x 1/-	= £3. 7. 0.
Capitation element	100 x 2/2	=£10.16. 8.
	100 x 1/6	= £7.10. 0.
	51 x 1/-	= £2.11. 0.
		£24. 4. 8.

subscriptions and donations was used to pay for rental of rooms, stationery, postage, and pooling for travel to District Council and conference meetings.

Jacques also set about increasing the number of Branches and membership of the W.E.A. with the vigour and enthusiasm and a complete conviction that direct appeals on a personal basis were the surest way to success. He was soon engaged in the demanding task of touring the region, addressing meetings in Branches, trade unions and Co-operative Societies. He also rightly believed that approaches to the L.E.A. would produce greater financial support than the District had hitherto secured.

Although the Adult Education Committee of 1919 had recommended that L.E.A.s should not make their own provision for adult education, but provide grant-aid to voluntary bodies, it became clear from the Board's 1924 Regulations and the growing powers of the L.E.A.s during the nineteen thirties that the evening institute arrangements were to some extent intended to serve both vocational and recreational needs more effectively than the intermittent and often transitory organisation of voluntary bodies. Jacques saw a possibly beneficial opportunity of linking District classes with the existing and expanding evening institutes throughout the region. The very existence of a W.E.A. class in an evening institute would, in Jacques' view, be useful in promoting the work of the Movement and possibly attractive to potential students. Concurrently, the District continued through the National Association to bid for renewal of funds for the existing Kettering scheme and began discussions about other possible innovations which would increase the District's provision and attract new financial support.

The quota scheme was an immediate success and Branches organised a

wide variety of social activities to raise the necessary funds. One important beneficial effect, not explicit in the scheme, was the stimulation of social activities in Branches so that in many instances, Branches became active community groups, generating a new sense of unity and corporate action. For example, Desborough with a quota of £2.10. Od., organised social evenings, outings and a lantern lecture for the public in order to raise the required funds. The membership of the Branch was twenty four in 1936, and every member was also a student in the Tutorial Class. Ipswich with a membership of ninety and a quota of £20, raised the sum through outings, foreign travel, a weekend camp and rally. Cambridge was, perhaps, in the most advantageous position as the university and regional centre and through supper evenings, socials, theatre visits the quota of £27.15. Od. was raised without difficulty. So well developed were the various interests of the Branch that a special committee was established to co-ordinate the educational and social activities.

Encouraged by the issue of Board of Education Circular 1444 issued in January, 1936, Jacques also discussed with L.E.A.s ideas for the intended expansion of District activities and ways in which support might be forthcoming under the new Circular.[1] During the 1936-37 session, he found with the appointment of John Newsom as Secretary for Education, the Hertfordshire L.E.A. would be responsive and agreeable to grant-aid all W.E.A. classes in the county. He also received an undertaking that the grant would be increased to match the enlarged programme in 1937-38. Similarly, the beginnings of new development in Norfolk were planned in 1936 and the L.E.A. agreed to grant-aid classes in 1937-38 up to a maximum of £40 - a modest beginning but it was especially important in that

1. See Chapter 8 ,

county to re-establish the principle of L.E.A. support. Both Northamptonshire and Bedford agreed to increase the scale of grants for classes and, after some years of difficulty, Cambridgeshire also agreed to increase grants to support W.E.A. classes. Only in East Suffolk did Jacques fail in 1936 to secure a promise of increased financial support for the District's classes - possibly as a result of earlier refusals during the period of the original Whiteley scheme five years previously.

The impression which Jacques had of the District on appointment was not dissimilar to that of Shearman's quoted above. There was virtually no finance available for the new office which was furnished by odd pieces of furniture given by Pateman and other second-hand items such as filing cabinets were bought by Jacques out of his own pocket. For at least two years it was a "period of monthly improvisation". Jacques was fortunate in two important ways. He found a group of tutors who were prepared to offer their services for reduced fees, while others returned their travelling expenses as donations to the District funds, until the finances of the District moved into credit balance as a result of the success of the quota scheme and the District began to expand its provision by 1939 in association with the L.E.A.s, particularly those outside the Board's Rural Areas Scheme, which is considered in the following two chapters. He was also fortunate in that Shearman, concerned about the financial condition of the District following Pateman's departure, organised two District meetings in Ipswich and Bedford following which Jacques was able to demonstrate his skills as District Secretary in tackling the financial problems. Thereafter, Shearman increasingly had confidence in Jacques and encouraged him in a policy of modest expansion. Similarly, Mrs. Clara Rackham who succeeded Shearman as District Chairman gave Jacques her full support and a free hand in the development of the

District as did Arthur Allen who replaced her in 1938.[1]

With these Chairmen as leaders of the Eastern District and with the support of Lionel Elvin who with Ernest Green ensured that Jacques became Joint Secretary of the Tutorial Classes Committee after an attempt had been made to deny the long-standing tradition of the W.E.A./University joint secretaryship of the Committee had been defeated in October, 1935, Jacques became successful and confident in his new role. They also secured an ex gratia payment of £100 from the Board of Extra Mural Studies to ease the District's immediate financial difficulties which had arisen as a result of Pateman's appointment. Restored to full health following the first of his motoring accidents, Jacques in 1936 began to explore ways of establishing the District as a movement with a social purpose aimed at meeting the specific needs of working people in the region.

The continued success of the two County Federations and the apparent co-operation between the District and Board in Bedfordshire and Northamptonshire, stimulated Jacques to look to other areas for development. The extensive areas of Essex and Norfolk had barely been explored, and the Board also appeared not to have considered seriously attempting developments in either county. Jacques devoted much effort to developments in both areas until the outbreak of war in September, 1939, when the east coast became a large military zone with a rapid increase in military population and an unusual increased opportunity for W.E.A. work at bases and camps. Until the war, Jacques devoted most of his time and effort to the opening up of both counties and the creation of a substantial W.E.A. presence in rural areas through the establishment of Branches. The experience in the two western counties of the District demonstrated the importance of a

1. These were three distinguished Chairmen and A.C. Allen became an M.P. in 1945 for a Northamptonshire constituency.

resident tutor in rural areas and the early success in Norfolk in the nineteen twenties was entirely attributable to Newlove as the resident tutor in that county. The decline in, and ultimate failure of, Newlove's activities had not, however, encouraged the L.E.A. to consider financing a fresh initiative in adult education. When Jacques approached the L.E.A. in 1936 he obtained only a promise of a £40 grant towards classes for 1937-38.[1] Nothing was available for 1936-37 and his hopes of an early start were lost even though more than 100 students were enrolled in five classes in the county that year. He turned to the National Association in late 1937 when the Kettering scheme's Cassell Grant renewal application had to be made yet again. This time the renewal was also coupled with a new proposal for a resident tutor in Norfolk for pioneer work in organising classes in rural Norfolk.

When he succeeded Pateman, Jacques found only one class in Norfolk - a small Tutorial Class in Norwich.[2] In 1936-37, he organised five yew classes to stimulate activity and assess demand. These beginnings undoubtedly strengthened the District's application to the Cassel trustees for a grant to enable a W.E.A. organising secretary in Norfolk to be appointed in September, 1938. It is difficult to ascertain the precise moment of decision, but in 1937 the Board also decided to appoint its own resident tutor in Norfolk, and another tutor in Essex, both from September, 1938.[3]

Although the public utterances of the Board and District were of co-operation, cordiality in relationship and mutual support in the task of developing adult education provision in the area covered by the District,

1. Minute Book No. 3 District Executive Meeting 5 June, 1937.
2. This was a class in 'Social Philosophy', 17 students. In 1935-36 a new Tutorial Class on 'Psychology' began with 25 students.
3. E. Welch op. cit. p.150.

a struggle for providing powers, influence and territorial sovereignty had been gradually emerging over a period of years. The appointment of Pateman to the Board in 1935 and some of his observed activities in later years, has been interpreted by those involved, and thus not entirely dispassionate, as being a major stratagem in the struggle for supremacy in East Anglia's provision for adult education during the mid-nineteen thirties.[1]

An appreciable amount of time and concern was expended by the District and its new Secretary over these matters: principally in relation to the nature of the partnership and the definition of providing powers between the Board and District generally in East Anglia and specifically over responsibility for Chapter III work. The issue became so important that the National W.E.A. and the Board of Education became involved in the dispute: principally because it was merely one of many elements in a wider issue of responsibility for adult education and the appropriate level for provision by the universities and the W.E.A. The tangled issues both in terms of principle and practice are examined in the following chapters.

District Development

Generally, the early nineteen thirties were characterised by hesitancy and disappointment over prospects of growth in the immediate future and uncertainty about the District's future role and even survival in the longer term. The emergence of the Extra Mural Board as a legitimate and major provider of adult education developing its own rural areas policy clearly presented a situation inevitably leading to overlapping provision and competition, however well intentioned the co-operative

1. Conversation with Wash, November, 1965 and Jacques, February, 1968.

arrangements were planned. It was becoming apparent that some L.E.A.s were more sympathetically disposed to supporting the activities of a formally constituted university body, representing a partnership between academic altruism and under-privileged adults , than activities organised by an amateurish, rudimentary voluntary body whose aims were still considered at best to be quasi-political and at worst to be thoroughly subversive. Conflict appeared inevitable, but in fact was avoided during the period largely as a result of attempts at co-operation between the Board and the District officers who undoubtedly believed that competition could be avoided, at least during the pioneer phase of development in East Anglia where there were large areas of rural England hardly affected by adult education - in rural Cambridgeshire, Essex, Norfolk, Huntingdonshire and Suffolk.

As already considered, as early as 1931 the Board appointed two tutor organisers resident in Northamptonshire and rural Cambridgeshire, and the District's representatives on the Board of Extra Mural Studies were asked to press the Board to agree to co-ordinate their provision with that of the W.E.A. as the Responsible Body for Chapter III provision. The issue arose again in 1932 when there appeared to be possible competition in the provision of classes in rural Cambridgeshire following the appointment of the Board's first resident tutor in the area, W.P. Baker. On this occasion, the matter was referred by the District to Firth, the General Secretary of the W.E.A. simply because the District feared that its position over Chapter III was in jeopardy.

This was not exclusively a local problem as some difficulty had already arisen elsewhere in the country, notably in Nottingham, and the national W.E.A. had published a document outlining its national policy on relations with other providing bodies, and the issues are considered in

the following chapter. Nevertheless, and although there is little documentation of these fears, it is possible to infer that in addition to the general national depression which affected the growth and development of W.E.A. activities, there existed in the District a sense of foreboding for the future of the District with the intervention of the Board of Extra Mural Studies as a provider under Chapter III of the Regulations in rural areas; the continuing and apparently unresolvable problem over finance for expansion; and the loss of the initial enthusiasm which had fired the voluntary principle on which the District's momentum depended.

It was with considerable relief and satisfaction that the District reached and celebrated its Twenty First Anniversary in 1934. The occasion was marked by a celebration at Cambridge in June, by a series of meetings addressed by Mansbridge, Temple and Firth to an assembly of more than seven hundred delegates. A tour of the colleges was followed by tea at Trinity College and the whole affair was stage-managed by Pateman, for whom it was a personal triumph. Even Tawney's caution, in a note in the programme for the day, could not dampen Pateman's pleasure that the District "was only at the beginning of their task".[1] Although he did not know at the time, for Pateman it was nearing the end of his service to the W.E.A. Tawney was, however, wide of the mark in claiming that the "District has been a pioneer in spreading education among working class students in rural areas, and the Association as a whole owes much to its example".[2]

Superficially, the position in 1934-35 was mildly encouraging. Thirteen new centres had been established with active student groups

1. Coming of Age Celebration Souvenir Programme, 1934.
2. Ibid.

distributed across the District, although Norfolk and Essex were virtually untouched. The Board of Education grant-earning capacity had been increased to such an extent that the District was briefly with a credit balance of a little over £100, for the first time in many years.

A small beginning had been made in Essex: at Harwich and Clacton One Year classes were arranged and at Silver End, the N.I.A.E. selected the centre as one of three at which art exhibitions were staged in rural areas where there was little other possibility of providing such facilities.

In Hertfordshire, in addition to the Tutorial Classes at Letchworth and Welwyn Garden City, new centres were established at Harpenden, and Old Welwyn. The St. Alban's Branch and the Student Group at Ashwell arranged One Year and Terminal classes respectively.

Two new W.E.A. centres were opened in the Isle of Ely, largely as a result of W.P. Baker's initiative - Sutton and Stretham and recently formed centres at Haddenham, March and Wilburton arranged Terminal Courses. This co-operation between the Board's tutors and W.E.A. centres and Branches was indicative of earlier co-operation in the field which was beginning to disappear at Cambridge between the Board and the District officers and committees.

In Huntingdonshire, two new centres were formed, with assistance from Miss Green and as a result of the migration of W.E.A. students from elsewhere in the country. In rural Cambridgeshire, the recently formed Student Group at Histon arranged two Terminal Courses; Cottenham an active centre under the Board's rural scheme became an established Branch of the W.E.A. and Guilden Morden was also established as a W.E.A. centre.

After some years of nominal interest by the District, Kesteven established two new centres to increase the total in the area to six centres, all organised and shepherded by the East Midlands District and at this stage it was decided to transfer the area of South Lincolnshire to the vigorous East Midlands District. However, in another peripheral area, Norfolk, the District had only one Branch, at Norwich, which completed its Tutorial Class in 1935.

In summary, the District's most successful activities continued to be either in urban centres with large populations or in those rural areas with established resident tutors.

Within these counties, the concentration was even more noticeable with the most active Branches established in the large towns. These were: Cambridge, Ipswich, Kettering, Northampton, Peterborough, Rushden, Wellingborough and Welwyn Garden City. Out of a total of 2,460 students enrolled in all classes and courses, 397 attended Tutorial Classes at these centres out of a District total of 608. 349 students at these eight centres also enrolled for a variety of One Year and Terminal Courses i.e. 746 or 30.3% of all enrolments in the District in 1934-35.

Thus over 70% of students attending Tutorial Classes were in these eight Branches as were over 55% of all other students. After twenty one years of endeavour, improvisation and difficulty there appears to have been little real penetration or diffusion in the largest geographical W.E.A. District in England. The widespread scatter of Branches and student centres partially masked the inability of the District adequately to reach a significant element of the population of its area irrespective of any occupational consideration.

Examination of occupational categories from 1935 to 1940, the first time figures are available for the District as a whole, indicates a continuing downward trend in percentage terms of manual workers in relation to other occupational groups such as clerks and shop assistants. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that with the exception of particular classes and some Branches, especially in Northamptonshire, the District's activities had its widest appeal to non-manual occupations and housewives. As in other areas the practice had fallen short of the aims and prospect of the Movement, and Tawney's claim in June, 1934, is especially difficult to sustain, except in its most general sense. There remained a persistent doubt about the appeal of classes to working people and especially the manual occupations offered by the District and the extent to which Branches and centres had a free choice in the subject areas which interested them as well as the competence and sensitivity of the tutors to their students.

Shortly following his appointment in 1935, Jacques became aware of the discrepancy between the aims of the W.E.A. and the reality of the position in the District and in the 1936 annual report, and for the first time, a somewhat critical comment on the current position appeared. For him, the real question was whether the District was actively pursuing the aims of the W.E.A. or had the right kind of publicity to reach, attract and then stimulate the manual worker to enrol in classes. It was a fundamental question for the Eastern District, a major agricultural area with a marked arable/horticultural bias and thus more labour intensive than the pastoral farming areas. The area of the District to the east of Cambridge was clearly undeveloped and yet contained most of the rural population.

The rhetorical nature of the question made Jacques determined to give priority to the eastern half of the District and, in recognition of the difficulties of contact and communication, he sought to recruit District tutors and stimulate interest at Board level to appoint university resident tutors in East Anglia. As he was subsequently to recognise, this advocacy conceived out of urgency to do something for liberal adult education in East Anglia, also revealed his own early innocence as the new Secretary about plans already maturing, and over which there had been problems in relationships between the Board and the District for at least four years and which some thought included the strategem of appointing Pateman to the staff of the Board.[1] His activity also prompted the Board into considering appointments in East Anglia which it could more easily achieve, through its secured finances, than the District. Within a year the District had to face a contentious issue over providing powers and, as Jacques generously recognised, the position would ultimately have been lost but for the sterling quality and integrity of purpose for the cause of adult education shown by John Hampden Jackson and Douglas-Smith. The role of both these resident tutors appointed by the Board of Extra Mural Studies in 1938 is examined as part of the extraordinarily complex negotiations between the Board, the District and the national Association in Chapter 8.

1. Conversation with Jacques, February, 1968.

Chapter 7

The Rural Areas Scheme

The Problem of the Rural Areas

The Final Report of the Adult Education Committee, 1919, portrayed the social circumstances and difficulties of education in rural England. The under-privileged conditions of rural society with its rooted traditions in medieval social stratification and employment were still evident in the early years of this century. The conditions of employment, for example, reflected in the "tied cottage" on farm and estate, long hours of employment for low wages with its emphasis on 'craft' and physical abilities rather than on trained, literate workers militated against any recognition of desire or necessity for educational provision on, it must be acknowledged, both the part of employer and employee. To this attitude must be added the social isolation which arose from dispersed population in many small hamlets and villages and inadequate and undeveloped public transport services. The re-inforcing cyclical nature of the circumstances of rural existence thus made it extremely difficult for the development of any conscious social movement as had occurred a century earlier in the new industrial urban areas. The difficulty in generating an identifiable corporate working class movement made the growth of any adult education activity in rural areas a difficult if not impossible task. The difficulty was compounded in that for those who would not, or could not, accept rural conditions the opportunities for alternative employment and a broader social experience there were relatively attractive possibilities in the industrial areas where the expansion of the factory system required little formal training. Thus a traditional pattern of migration, at least a century old, to urban

areas was accelerated in the mid-nineteen twenties and the number of farm workers in England and Wales declined from 612,000 in 1921 to 511,000 by 1939.[1]

Within the farming industry, some modernisation was evident in the inexorable growth of mechanisation which in turn began to affect both the traditional occupational categories and further reduce the total employment requirement. Part of the decline was, of course, related to the effects of the war between 1914 and 1918, but a significant contribution was the increased use of machinery to raise farm output in spite of the loss of workers to the armed forces. When the dependants of farmworkers are added to the decline in the total of those directly employed in agriculture, it is possible to estimate that between 400,000 and 500,000 were no longer dependent on farming for their livelihood during the first twenty years of this century. As a large number of these had occupied tied-cottages it appears a reasonable assumption that the drift into towns was also prompted to secure homes as well as to take up other employment, particularly easy to obtain during the war.

With these conditions and this trend, it was not surprising that the Adult Education Committee in 1919 emphasised that as a first priority there should be a conscious and positive regeneration of rural social and economic life, in which adult education would play an important motivating and providing role. Central to the re-creation of the rural community was the provision of the village institute as "a living nucleus of communal activity in the village ... under full public control".[2] The institute would become a locus for a variety of activities: social, public library and local museum, and as a centre for adult educational

1. V. Bonham-Carter The English Village Penguin 1952 p.96.
2. Adult Education Committee Final Report, 1919 op.cit. pp.142-43.

provision. State aid in the form of 90% capital grants was recommended, together with improved rural transport services, linking villages to the county or market towns as sub-regional centres.

The Report, as in many other sections, went to the nub of the rural problem in connection with the provision of opportunities for liberal adult education. The specific problems in the provision of rural adult education were acknowledged;

> "it suffers if it is self-centred. It tends to lose in enthusiasm and vitality unless it is linked with similar work elsewhere. The voluntary educational bodies have owed much to the corporate spirit which the association of class with class and group with group in a larger movement has engendered.... The classes are small and the experience of members not sufficiently varied to overcome paucity of numbers. The difficulties of distance hamper contact and co-operation and defective transport places an almost insuperable obstacle in the way of effective co-ordination".[1]

To overcome these major impediments in the provision of adult education, the Report recommended that the conventional pattern of adult education which had developed essentially to meet urban needs should be modified to match rural conditions. The content and treatment of courses should be adjusted to meet the recognisably greater degree of educational under-privilege among rural students. Courses should be arranged as shorter versions of the winter sessions already provided in urban areas, although the reduction suggested from twenty four meetings to twenty hardly now appears to be of the greatest significance.[2] More important was the suggestion that the Tutorial Class might be modified as a two-year course for rural areas extending over twenty meetings during consecutive winter months. This major modification was clearly an attempt to bridge an existing gap in general provision between the one-year and three-year

1. Ibid p.141.
2. Ibid p.146.

Tutorial Classes, but it was never adopted as the 1924 Adult Education Regulations did not include the proposal.

However, the most important of all the recommendations for future development was the emphasis given to the appointment in rural areas of resident organisers responsible for the administration and co-ordination of adult educational activity as well as for some teaching. At the same time, it was also considered necessary to promote the growth of a de-centralised university extra-mural pattern of adult education. Through the university, summer schools would form part of an integrated scheme of studies and the arrangements for rural areas should consider the possibility of extending the summer school pattern into the winter months to increase the availability of the adult rural students for study. The conventional core of subjects for adult students should be extended in these areas to consider a broad spectrum of social and economic problems associated with rural life.[1]

Characteristically, these recommendations of the Adult Education Committee in 1919 exceeded the arrangements permissible under the then existing Board of Education Regulations.[2] Although there was only an occasional reference to the limitations imposed by the existing Regulations, a clear conviction existed that they had inhibited much development of rural adult education, as few arrangements for rural classes were specifically covered by the Regulations for grant-earning purposes. The early work in rural areas was experimental, ad hoc and pioneering and inevitably disappointing when measured, as required by the Regulations, by a quantifiable response from students. Classes thus suffered from the inelasticity of the control on financial support available under the

1. Ibid p.147.
2. See Chapter 4 , p. 246.

Regulations so that the costs of mounting rural courses had to be borne almost entirely by donations and subscriptions.

The main recommendations of the Final Report 1919, were endorsed by the Board of Education Adult Education Committee's Report published in 1922.[1] The recommendations on modifications for classes and courses were incorporated into the 1924 Adult Education Regulations except for those in connection with Tutorial Classes. The recommendations for resident tutors were not adopted until the 1932 Regulations were issued and which outlined new policies for the development of adult education in rural areas which were discussed in Chapter 4.

The Committee also adopted a firm stance over the participation of L.E.A.s in rural adult education. The envisaged role was that of an enabling, facilitating agency rather than as a direct provider.[2] In this view they were clearly influenced by the encouraging arrangements which had developed between voluntary organisations and L.E.A.s in Kent and Staffordshire. The suggestion was

> "that the most fruitful results would be obtained if they (the L.E.A.s) gave financial assistance in aid of the direct educational work of voluntary organisations rather than undertook any large development of their own classes".[3]

The importance of finance was heavily underlined in recognition of the proportionately greater per capita expenditure necessary to provide education in rural areas.

1. Adult Education Report No. 3 The Development of Adult Education in Rural Areas 1922. op.cit. passim.
2. Adult Education Committee Final Report 1919. op.cit. Appendix 1. There is a clear impression that the work of L.E.A.s had lacked initiative, understanding and endeavour p.266 'Indeed the continuation work of Local Education Authorities touches but a fraction of the rural population'. In contrast the activities of the W.E.A. and W.I. are commented upon in the most favourable terms in the appendix - again a reflection of the composition of the Committee.
3. Ibid p.148.

District Initiative

Perhaps more than other Districts, the Eastern was conscious of the difficulties in the provision of adult education in rural areas. With the largest geographical area of any District, predominantly rural and with relatively few industrial centres, the recommendations of the Final Report 1919 and the Adult Education Committee in 1922 formed the basis for much of its own strategy and enterprise. Within the area there were thirty three education authorities in 1918, in addition to many Part III L.E.A.s established under the 1902 Act.[1]

Pateman, at that time recently returned to the District possessed a bicycle, virtually no funds, and only limited access to the District area by railway. The problem of the rural areas was acknowledged but hardly tackled since there was a pressing need to satisfy a demand in the urban areas where the movement already existed but had not yet been co-ordinated or brought under the District's arrangements.

Organising these areas alone was a formidable task for one man and the rural areas were largely neglected except for those villages adjacent to the main towns. Even here, Pateman found that Warrilow's later assertion that villages were not initially interested in adult education and could not see its relevance was not universally accurate.[2] Further, without organisation and expensive publicity, class activities were dependent almost entirely on his own efforts. During the nineteen twenties he devoted as much time as he could spare for excursions into

1. Part III L.E.A.s were minor divisions in counties with responsibility for elementary education only. Generally, they formed the municipal boroughs with populations in excess of 10,000 and urban districts with populations over 20,000. They were created under the Education Act, 1902, to stimulate local initiatives and partly to placate displaced members of School Boards. They had no powers for the provision of vocational or liberal adult education.
2. Henry Warrilow 'Rural Adult Education' in The Journal of Adult Education Vol III No. 2, April 1929, pp.126-133.

villages when requested, carrying his heavy boxes of lantern slides with the intention of stimulating interest on which, he hoped, others might build through organised classes.

Pateman regarded this kind of introductory lecture as the critical activity in the future success or failure in villages, as it had to compete with established village interests. If there was a sizeable audience and an expressed interest at the conclusion of his talk, he attempted to find someone who might take a short course almost immediately following his own introductory talk. If this were done, there was a possibility of success.[1] To attempt to secure subsequent courses he extended his rural contacts through membership of the Cambridgeshire Rural Community Council eventually becoming Chairman of its Education Committee and thus known to the Local Education Authority and the Extra Mural Board for his interest in rural adult education.

He recognised the importance of the recommendations of the Final Report 1919 for resident tutors in rural areas in the District and if in response the Board and the L.E.A. had been able to meet the needs which the impecunious W.E.A. District manifestly could not, the rural area around Cambridge might have been provided with a greater variety of classes and courses before the appointment of W.P. Baker as the Board's resident tutor in the county in 1931.[2] The problem was simply the mobility necessary for tutors to reach the less accessible villages. But they had also to be sensitive and responsive to the needs, often unexpressed, of the villagers. Later, this particular quality became so important that rural classes not infrequently chose the tutor and then accepted the subject which he offered, but in the nineteen twenties

1. Pateman in conversation with Williams, November, 1965.
2. See Chapter 5, p. 360.

the problems for Pateman were availability and mobility, rather than desirable personal qualities, of the tutor, and the cherished tradition of W.E.A. class democracy was frequently set aside by market forces in rural areas.

Until 1918, there is no record of a single Branch of Student Group in existence outside the larger towns in the District. In that year a rural Branch was established at Castle Hedingham with sixty members. Although the precise reason for its foundation is obscure, it is probable that former Tutorial Class students at nearby Halstead were responsible and a class met during the winter of 1918-19. The success was brief, however, and apart from a series of occasional lectures in the following year the Branch failed to establish itself.

Early in 1919, a Branch was formed at Stowmarket which it was hoped would provide a natural focus for the surrounding villages but again there was a failure to sustain interest into the second year beyond an annual series of public lectures, even though the Branch continued to exist until 1928.

Nevertheless, the needs of the rural areas were considered at a conference held during the 1918 Cambridge Summer School. From this arose a national W.E.A. sub-committee to examine the possibility of the W.E.A.'s role and provision for rural work. Pateman's primacy and interest was reflected in his appointment as its secretary. One important feature of the national concern was that the wartime activities, particularly in eastern England, had affected the developing work of the W.E.A. in rural areas even more severely than in the towns.[1] Where activities had begun,

1. The W.E.A. Education Year Book 1918 p.352.

largely outside the area of the Eastern District, lectures and classes in rural areas had virtually ceased by 1918. Increased rail fares, infrequent trains, decline in the number of available tutors, and reduced W.E.A. income had made work in rural districts almost impossible. The urgency of the need to review and plan for the future peace-time conditions was predicated on the assumption that there would be a rapid post-war growth in rural adult education, especially in the Eastern, South Easter, and Western Districts.

In the years immediately following the war, and buoyed up by the Final Report 1919, Pateman provided a number of public lectures in the more accessible parts of the rural District, and on occasions he was supported by Professor Gilbert Murray who had developed an interest in adult education in rural areas.[1] However, for reasons mentioned earlier, growth was miniscule and this was probably exacerbated by the District's inability to fund its pioneering activities. In sharp contrast was the development from 1927-30 in rural Bedfordshire achieved through the professional approach of Shearman as resident tutor and supported by the W.E.A. County Federation of Branches.[2] Elsewhere, growth was controlled by three main factors.

Firstly, the difficulty of the geography and poor communication networks meant that even where preliminary activity had been encouraging, there were major difficulties in supporting and sustaining the existence, let alone the promotion, of new activities in Branches and Student Groups. Secondly, and closely linked with it, was the inadequacy of the District's finances available for encouragement and development. Because of this difficulty some classes became involved in excessive financial commitments

1. For example both visited East Runton, near Cromer, on a missionary visit in the summer, 1919.
2. See Chapter 5 , p. 428.

which had to be borne entirely by the local organisers, and the District frequently was unable to subsidise such activities. The result, especially during the nineteen twenties, was that only those courses and classes where there was virtually guarantee of self-support were arranged. Thirdly, without any previous experience of participation in adult education activities, villagers were unmoved by exhortations about deficiencies in education, social and cultural provision and generally lacked that recognisable motivational force typically found in towns which had provided the W.E.A. with a natural momentum towards the ideal of an education democracy. For most of the rural areas at that time, and this is still generally true today, the key lay in the presence of a resident tutor who could provide the stimulation, raise levels of interest and at the same time undertake some of the essential organising and teaching burdens in the initial stages. These three factors combined to limit severely the practicality of expansion of activities in the rural areas of the Eastern District during the nineteen twenties.

However, some progress was made. For example, largely due to Pateman's efforts and encouragement, some of the urban Branches sought to extend their activities into the surrounding villages in the decade following the war. In this endeavour the facilitating agency was the newly founded Women's Institute movement, considered to be an important growth point for rural adult education nationally. Pateman provided a large number of talks each year at W.I. branches, often weekly throughout the winter months. Although there was a natural pre-occupation with rural crafts and domestic subjects and the audiences were entirely female, it was hoped that some programme of development might be secured.[1] However, apart from some useful and significant initial points of contact made in

1. Eastern District Annual Report 1923-24.

Bedfordshire and East Suffolk which were later to prove important both to Shearman and Whiteley respectively as resident tutors in these counties, in the early and successful provision of afternoon classes, little sustained adult education activity in the liberal tradition stemmed from the W.I.s.

Pateman relied almost entirely on his lantern lectures for pioneering work in villages. The four heavy boxes of glass slides, retained in the archives of the Eastern District, convey a striking impression through their weight and bulk of the physical difficulties he must have faced in his missionary activities in the area around Cambridge, with these boxes balanced uncertainly on his bicycle. At least when he gave similar talks beyond Cambridge he could arrange for them to be carried by rail. His limited repertoire included 'English Social History Through the Ages', 'Life in Rural England' and 'Cambridge Colleges'. It was not unusual for him to give such lectures at least weekly during the winter season with an occasional talk on 'The Spirit and Purpose of the W.E.A.'. In response to a growing demand, he went in 1925-26 into Norfolk giving his single lectures at a number of villages and, but for transport difficulties, would have accepted several other invitations.[1] Through these missionary activities he was able to demonstrate the existence of an unsatisfied demand for adult education.

Sadly, there is no recorded evidence to demonstrate that his considerable endeavours, with the long and often tedious journeys, led directly to the formation of a single Branch. In a few places he visited

1. For example in 1923, he visited Gosfield, Earl's Colne, Rothwell, Coney Weston, Gt. Cornard and Leagrave in the West of the District and in Norfolk he gave talks at Walsingnam, Burnham Market, Cley Next Sea, Castle Acre. In 1924 he visited, Pebmarsh (twice), Hollowell, Langford Kensworth, Sandy Langford and W.I.'s at Ridgmont in Bedfordshire and some centres in East Suffolk.

such as Rothwell and Sandy, and with the crucially important follow-up activities by Miss Green and Shearman respectively, his breaking of new ground did help to create interest and attitudes a few years later conducive to class and, eventually, Branch organisation in both centres. However, the most important single factor was not Pateman's lantern slides, but the presence of resident tutors in the areas able to pursue nascent or latent interest and offer organising skills in support of local people.

In much of this rural work the District was assisted eventually by the new Adult Education Regulations through Terminal Classes of twelve lectures during the winter months. With the modest grant earned under the Regulations student fees were held at the lowest possible level. Pateman's sporadic efforts were thus useful in preparing the way for Shearman's more sustained and skilled effort in Bedfordshire from 1927, in assisting Miss Green in the extension of classes beyond the immediate vicinity of Kettering and in demonstrating the existence of the potential demand in Cambridgeshire, Norfolk and East Suffolk.[1] Although he occasionally provided his "popular" village lectures into the early nineteen thirties, there was a noticeable falling away in their frequency as the resident tutor appointments were made.

As already considered, the possibility for joint District-Board initiative to manage the changed responsibility for the Bedfordshire Scheme, led the Extra Mural Board's special committee to carry through the transferred responsibility for the Bedfordshire Scheme and to examine the

1. For example, Pateman provided his talks at Pavenham and Wrestlingworth in Bedfordshire; at Grendon in Northamptonshire, a new village centre at which a study group had been formed; to various W.I.'s in Cambridgeshire and Suffolk and at the Papworth Settlement.

examine the possibilities of similar appointments in rural Cambridgeshire and other counties. This committee, on which the District was represented, developed into the most important single mechanism for the promotion of rural work undertaken by the Board and District, jointly and separately, during the nineteen thirties.

The Rural Areas Sub-Committee

Chronology. At the end of the first world war, university extension activities were organised and provided largely by Oxford, Cambridge and London, but during the decade following 1918, the newer universities and university colleges rapidly expanded their participation in adult education and by 1938, for example, only some 40% of the total provision of university extension classes was provided by the original trio.[1]

The reasons for the gradual withdrawal of Cambridge from its widely scattered local centres established during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were considered in an earlier Chapter. The possibilities of expansion within its own region were also stimulated by the successful experience of the Department of Adult Education at Nottingham University. At Nottingham the comprehensive pattern of adult education provision was recognised by the Board of Education and commended "one of the most complete schemes yet launched in this country".[2]

However, Kelly's assertion that Cambridge "which also had considerable rural areas to provide for, followed a similar policy in the thirties" is a gross over-generalisation.[3] As considered below, the Rural Areas Committee could not be regarded either as replacing the Cambridge Joint Tutorial

1. T. Kelly op.cit. 1970 p.271.
2. Board of Education, Adult Education Committee "Adult Education and the Local Authority", 1933, pp.28-34.
3. T. Kelly op.cit. p.272.

Committee or as its successor body, since the Joint Tutorial Committee continued in existence. Further, the Rural Areas Committee did not co-ordinate all the Chapter III courses organised by the Eastern District which had not surrendered its providing powers in every county, although there was some discussion, and acrimony over proposals by the Rural Areas Committee that it should do so.

Nevertheless, the publicly acknowledged success and the Board of Education's explicit approval of the Nottingham pattern appears to have been a major influence on the attitude of the Cambridge Board of Extra Mural Studies, and almost certainly reflected in the thinking of Hickson.[1] Events also appeared to apoint the way forward towards the Nottingham pattern as co-operation with the District increased; the assumption of responsibility for the Bedfordshire Scheme and the handing over of providing powers in that county to the Board.

The co-operation between the Cambridgeshire Rural Community Council and the L.E.A. over the Board's assumption of responsibility for the lecture and short course scheme had demonstrated the importance of a new role in adult education for the Board. The appointment of W.P. Baker as an Article 11 resident tutor in the county was a logical development in the provision of rural adult education. In these and other ways and with income from classes, financial support from L.E.A.s and national educational charities the Board began to develop and sustain rural lectures from the late nineteen twenties.

Thus with the assumption of the District's rural scheme in Bedfordshire, and those of the Rural Community Council in Cambridgeshire

1. This was a suggestion of Pateman's in conversation with Williams, November, 1965. Pateman believed that Hickson had "much admired the Nottingham Scheme".

the Board's small Rural Areas Sub-Committee expanded in size and importance. At its meeting on 7 February, 1930, the Board of Extra Mural Studies agreed that the work in both Bedfordshire and Cambridgeshire should be placed on a permanent basis for development and with the university "playing some part in supplying the educational needs of the countryside". The implicit acceptance that courses of a lower academic level than hitherto would be organised and provided by the Extra Mural Board was justified on the precedence of other universities, particularly Oxford and Nottingham. The justification was strengthened by emphasising the importance of meeting expressed needs in the Cambridge area itself where the university had previously been comparatively inactive, and that under the guidance of the university the present level of work would lead to higher standards of achievement among adult students, an intervention to which the 1927 Report of the Adult Education Committee had given encouragement.

As the result of this decision, the Rural Areas Committee was established for the provision of lecturers and tutors together with the immediate task of considering the appointment of one or more full-time resident tutors, who were recognised as essential to any serious development of provision in rural areas and who would work in conjunction with various voluntary bodies, including the W.E.A.

There was a clear recognition of the importance of adequate finance, not simply to avoid the difficulties encountered by the District, but also to ensure that as far as possible the active financial support of the L.E.A.s in the region would be secured. A preliminary estimate of the annual cost of lectures and classes in Bedfordshire, Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely was about £1,200. To provide income at this level approaches were made to the Cassel Trustees for a renewal of an existing

grant for education in rural areas for a further three years, and to the L.E.A.s to support programmes in their areas for the 1930-31 session. Although encouraging support was forthcoming it did not match the estimate and resulted in the Isle of Ely being omitted from the Board's scheme. The total promised was £820, and in Bedfordshire Shearman's rural areas programme was given an additional supplement of £200 from the Board's funds to ensure the success of anticipated expansion.[1]

At the first formal meeting of the Rural Areas Committee in October, 1930, an immediate difficulty had to be faced.[2] The Board of Education had announced a 10% reduction in its grants formula under the Adult Education Regulations for 1931 and 1932. With the exception of Shearman, whose salary was secured under the Bedfordshire L.E.A.'s agreement to pay his salary of £400, all other tutor fees were reduced by 10% including that of W.P. Baker the recently appointed resident tutor in Cambridgeshire.

The continued reduction in government grants prevented any immediate further expansion beyond these two counties until 1934 when modest financial support from the Isle of Ely and Essex L.E.A.s enabled some courses to be provided in their areas at that time.[3] Although the possibilities of developing work in rural Hertfordshire, Norfolk and

1. The details of sources of income promised are: Cassel Trust £150 for three years; Bedfordshire L.E.A. £400 for three years; Cambridgeshire L.E.A. £120 for rural programme of R.C.C. for one year; Thomas Wall Trust £100 for four years; Gilchrist Trust £50 for one year towards a tutor's salary.
2. The members of the Committee were: Professor E. Barker (Chairman), Dr. Borrodaile, F.R. Salter, H. Wash, Pateman with Hickson as Secretary. The committee were able to co-opt representatives from L.E.A.s concerned and later that year representatives from Bedfordshire and Cambridgeshire L.E.A.s joined the Committee, together with a representative of the W.E.A. Bedfordshire Federation.
3. In 1934-35 the Isle of Ely offered a grant of £100 in support of classes but Essex offered a mere £20 for classes in its area. From Pateman's notes it is clear that the suggestion to approach other L.E.A.s for financial support came from Henry Morris, the Director of Education, Cambridgeshire.

Suffolk were pursued, little was achieved until the appointments of resident tutors in Norfolk and Essex in 1938, resident W.E.A. organisers in Norfolk in 1938, Hertfordshire in 1941. But it was not until 1946 that a resident tutor was appointed by the Board of Extra Mural Studies in Suffolk.

Some indication of the existing co-operative attitudes among members of the Rural Areas Committee can be gauged from brief notes made in the margins of Pateman's meeting papers. For example, although the attitude of county council representative members was clearly supportive, they believed that at county council level it was difficult to convince other elected members of the need to support and finance liberal adult education. They asked for copies of annual summaries of courses and occupational categories of enrolled students produced by the Board to be sent to the Directors of Education who could report to the appropriate committees on the expansion provision.[1]

When Shearman was appointed National Education Officer for the W.E.A. in July, 1935, difficulties arose over the appointment of a successor. At a meeting that month of the Rural Areas Committee, and even after eight years experience in the most successful scheme, doubts were raised about the expenditure on the scheme in Bedfordshire and the amount of work available to justify the continued appointment of a full-time resident tutor. H.E. Baines, the county's Director of Education, conscious of the fact that his Authority provided about one half of the finance for the Board's rural areas scheme, finally agreed to the continuation of the appointment on the understanding that the new resident tutor should concentrate his efforts in the south of the county where much development

1. Rural Areas Committee Minutes 26 August, 1933.

was required. With this condition agreed, Baines recommended his Council support the continuation of the scheme for a further two years at the same level of support viz. £400 per annum for the salary of the tutor.[1] As noted in the previous chapter, Harold Plaskitt succeeded Shearman and by 1937 there was an increased coverage of the south of the county with rural centres. By 1937 there were thirty five rural centres for which the Committee held responsibility in both counties, and the Cassel, Thomas Wall and Gilchrist Trusts all renewed their grants for a further three year period.[2] With income assured from the Trusts and the continuation of L.E.A. grants, and new offers of financial support from Norfolk and Essex, two new appointments were made in 1938, one in each county which were to be of considerable significance not merely for the work of the Board but also for the District's future work and development independently of its co-operative role within the joint scheme.

The new tutors were A.E. Douglas-Smith in Essex and J. Hampden Jackson in Norfolk and thus at the beginning of the 1938-39 academic year resident tutors appointed by the Board were active in Bedfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Essex and Norfolk, and the Board was providing Chapter III courses in one half of the rural counties in the District. With the addition of Lee in Northamptonshire as the resident tutor in the most industrialised county, the superior financial and staffing resources of the Board led within the relatively short period of seven years to a major encroachment in the District's responsibilities for Chapter III provision. The District resisted the intervention of the Board wherever

1. Rural Areas Committee Meeting, 25 July, 1935: Pateman's pencilled notes on the agenda indicate the problem for Bedfordshire in quoting Councillor Spensley "We have difficulty in keeping our colleagues up to this (level) and not lowering to the level of Cambridgeshire and Isle of Ely" (i.e. £100 from each of these two L.E.A.s, whereas the Bedfordshire contribution was £400 out of a total Board income of between £800-900)
2. Rural Areas Committee Minutes 8 July, 1937.

possible, but its weak financial and organisational structure, the absence of clear policies for the development of its own provision led to a policy expedient of seeking limitation of the Board's expansion through co-operation rather than open competition; a stratagem developed by Jacques.

The appointment of the District's own Organising Secretary, Edmund Poole, for Norfolk and Norwich in 1938, and which was financed through a three-year Cassell Trust grant was an attempt to prevent a monopoly of provision by the University in Norfolk, and much was made of Poole's open co-operation with Hampden Jackson the Board's tutor. Elsewhere, the promising position in Hertfordshire following modest provision of lecture and course activities during 1938 was not capable of development until the L.E.A. offered £200 in 1941 to the Board for the general development of adult education in rural parts of the county in addition to specific grants for individual classes which it had provided in previous years. By arrangement with the L.E.A. it was agreed to allocate the Hertfordshire grant for 1941-42 to the District to enable it to appoint a resident tutor-organiser in that county on a similar basis to the successful appointment in Norfolk of Poole in 1938.

University Attitudes. The mere chronology of the development of the work of the Rural Areas Committee does not reveal many of the difficulties in the development nor, indeed, the divergent approaches, and at time acrimonious negotiations, which arose between the Board and the District during the decade following its establishment. The differences were largely attributable to the attitudes of the personalities involved, partly to the history of development in the provision of adult education in the District's area, but perhaps most significantly to the general difficulties which arose in the wider context of national development which

stemmed from the encroachment of the universities and local education authorities into the virtually exclusive preserve of the W.E.A. prior to and in the two decades following the Great War. By the late nineteen twenties and throughout the following decade, the W.E.A. was under considerable pressure from developments in adult education introduced by these other providers who were in almost every respect in more advantageous positions; particularly in the areas of public acceptability as agencies of educational provision and, of course, most importantly over the key factor of financial viability. At times, under such pressure and losing ground to both universities and L.E.A.s, the tenor of W.E.A. statements and its public attitude indicate a marked defensive posture.

Not unreasonably, the universities generally wished to participate in the growth of liberal adult education in meeting some of the acknowledged needs of the under-privileged but able adults who had been denied educational opportunities beyond the elementary school stage which might otherwise have enabled them to pursue intra-mural university courses. The W.E.A. demand for universal, free secondary education was not an exclusive concern. The L.E.A.s, although not all recognised or sought a positive role as providers of liberal adult education, were generally prepared to support other agencies for this purpose, the most acceptable and prestigious being the universities which were establishing departments of adult education, or extra mural studies, to meet the needs of an adult population denied educational opportunities beyond the age of fourteen years. It was both natural and understandable that the public bodies charged with responsibility for liberal adult education but without either direct experience or a statutory duty to provide it, should turn to the universities. The W.E.A., having pioneered the growth of educational opportunities for the under-privileged adults and with declared social objectives of educational reform as part of a policy leading to an

educated democracy had encountered considerable opposition or indifference. It was suspected of left wing political inclinations which the industrial unrest of the previous decade had fuelled and was itself resistant to university intervention unless the policy of the Oxford Report of 1908 with its principle of genuine, equal partnership of provision and control by working people was honoured. The other reservation about unilateral university participation lingered on from the practice of university extension of discontinuous courses, concerned with the content of subject matter and devoid of a vital, social momentum necessary in the creation of an educated working class movement. The accepted and self-perceived role of the W.E.A. was in its function as the major voluntary body for students, capable of articulating their needs and providing educational opportunities to satisfy them.

Although his attitude underwent a gradual metamorphosis after he became an officer of the Board of Extra Mural Studies in 1935, Pateman had earlier reflected the W.E.A. suspicion of the intervention by the University. In a letter to Mactavish in 1926, then General Secretary of the Association, Pateman had drawn his attention to the first Annual Report of the Universities Extra-Mural Consultative Committee. In Pateman's view, the W.E.A. should be vigilant over this concerted development among universities:

> "If you look at the preamble you will see that it is a self-appointed body with only Executive officers of Extra Mural Boards and Committees. It has no representation of the demand side and is not representative of the movement .... The position re Rural education in Cambridgeshire will need to be watched".[1]

1. U.E.M.C.C. Annual Report 1925-26. Somewhat surprisingly, the development of this important inter-university committee is not mentioned in Welch's book, even though Cranage was elected its first Chairman and Hickson was a co-opted members from inception. Letter from Pateman to Mactavish 20 October, 1926.

Mactavish's reply on the following day indicated that the Central Office had been unaware of the existence of the Committee and thus the national Association had no policy on the matter.

> "I was not conscious of the existence of such a committee until I received the report.... No W.E.A. representatives at our meeting tomorrow (a meeting of the Cambridge Board of Extra Mural Studies) should commit themselves to an endorsement of the report and its recommendations until ... our Association has had an opportunity of considering it and its implications".[1]

It is extraordinary that although the committee had been in existence for at least a year the central office of the W.E.A. should have had no knowledge of it, nor indeed had the joint universities committee apparently thought of approaching the Association which was demonstrably the major provider of liberal adult education in the country and in receipt of major financial support from the Board of Education. This evidence suggests that much of the published claim of close, cordial and co-operative endeavour between universities and the W.E.A. was not entirely accurate.

Mactavish's irritation at the development undoubtedly reflected a view wider than his own over the intervention of the universities pursuing independent objectives which might develop in conflict with the declared objectives of the W.E.A.

> "No self-respecting working educational body, much as it may desire to retain close and friendly relations with the Board, Universities etc., can go on being hampered in its work by the increasing number of organisations concerned either telling it what to do, what it should not do, or advising it in both these directions.... The time has come when we have got, not to increase the number of regulations which govern grant aid and the number of bodies that advise us as to the best way to do our job, but to begin to think out how best to simplify the regulations and to reduce the number of Advisory Bodies. It not, then there is a grave danger of our movement ultimately being strangled by our friends".[2]

1. Mactavish to Pateman, 21 October, 1926.
2. Ibid.

The letter reveals the continuing assumption that it was the W.E.A. which had the exclusive duty and right to provide 'working class' education and, at least initially, Mactavish foresaw the role of the new universities as being simply an advisory one. Had he read the report from Pateman a little more closely he would have noted that in the preamble the Consultative Committee intended to cast a net wider than his impression in that it saw its role "as equally concerned with every type of extra-mural work undertaken by University Extra Mural Authorities".[1] In fact its role was not fundamentally advisory but rather one which concerned itself with university development of liberal adult education independently of other agencies and, presumably, principally the W.E.A. The use of the word "Authorities" has a significantly Weberian connotation which the District was to discover within the following decade about the intentions of the Cambridge Board in relation to the structure and control of adult education activities through its Rural Areas Committee.

At the end of 1926, the national W.E.A. clearly became alarmed at the intention of the U.E.M.C.C. and recommended that it should become a sub-committee of the Central Joint Advisory Committee which had worked successfully as a joint university-W.E.A. body for the planning and provision of Tutorial courses. It was thought that by this stratagem, the W.E.A. would be informed about the new committee's activities, monitor its recommendations and intervene over any decisions which it might have made prior to any implementation.

The W.E.A.'s Response. As the universities developed their provision in rural areas during the late twenties, the W.E.A. organised a national conference on the rural areas in May, 1929. Nearly all Districts were

1. U.E.M.C.C. Report 1925-26 op.cit.

represented, as were the major philanthropic trusts which had supported much of the early pioneering work of the Association. Because of its early work in rural areas the Eastern District had the largest delegation in attendance: Miss Green, Shearman, Pateman and Wash. Further, the main document for discussion on adult education in rural areas had been prepared by Shearman, who drew entirely on his experience as resident tutor in Bedfordshire.[1]

The document is valuable as a summary of both Shearman's experience and suggestions for a general policy of rural development. He gave great emphasis to an informality of arrangements for classes and to freedom for the tutor to experiment both in the matter of the size and composition of classes and the subjects to be studied. This was an important point for the W.E.A. because the limitations in both these respects imposed by the 1924 Adult Education Regulations meant that much of this exploratory activity lay outside the Board's recognition for grant-aid, with the consequent loss of much-needed income. This income-deficiency led in turn to class fees being higher than desired and a strict control over the subjects which the Board would approve. These were largely the traditional 'liberal' subjects of study which had worked well in urban centres in the early days of the W.E.A. but some were clearly unlikely to evoke similar responses from rural populations. The resultant effects were that the W.E.A. either had to subsidise classes or attempt to produce sufficiently large groups to ensure financial self-sufficiency; an extremely difficult task in small rural communities.

An interesting distinction was made between villages with populations in excess of 1,000 inhabitants and those with fewer than 500. It was

1. W.E.A. National Conference Agenda and documents circulated to all delegates attending the London Conference.

believed the former type could support a variety of interests and, where the movement was firmly founded, could support Tutorial Classes in subjects related to religion, politics, industrial history or economics. But if the population were less than 500, to be successful the appeal had to be directed at the whole community. In small villages any appeal to sectional interests was likely to lead to a failure to establish classes. Generally, the aim in villages was to establish a social movement through adult education rather than merely the provision of specific classes.[1]

The achievement of this prime aim was less easy in rural areas than in towns simply because the former lacked the naturally existing nuclei for growth of a social movement found in urban centres in that there was no recognisable organised trade union activity and there were few members of the co-operative movement, both considered essential to the establishment and maintenance of Student Groups and W.E.A. Branches. The absence of these influences meant that the approach had to be pitched at the community as a whole rather than an economic or identifiable social group. This led inevitably, in Shearman's analysis, to an emphasis on the choice of topic for study and, if necessary, non-traditional teaching methods. For him, the key people in a rural community were the agricultural workers who hardly ever figured in the grant-earning classes. The real difficulty was to arouse and maintain the interest of the farm workers. In his view it could only be achieved through informal teaching methods but without a descent - a sly disparagement of some extra-mural lectures - to the level of mere entertainment.

1. In this connection the point is strongly made, and recurs in papers throughout the nineteen thirties, even by the Board's own tutors such as Baker, Douglas Smith and Hampden Jackson, that the pre-occupation of the Board of Extra Mural Studies with classes was unlikely to lead to the creation of a successful movement for adult education in rural communities.

The existing regulations of the Board, however, were too inflexible and the standards too rigorous for much desirable rural adult education. The then current popularity of classes in Literature, for example, was distrusted as it concealed many weaknesses in the provision in rural areas and the statistics of activities treated with considerable caution. Few farm workers had either the time or skill to undertake much reading; there was an appalling absence of library facilities in rural areas, and tutors should not assume that their students read a daily newspaper. Only the most intelligent were likely to be in this category, and then only near points of availability. Many who could read used only the Bible as their main source: "A man may be no reader and may not have a pen in the house and yet be shrewd enough".[1] For these people, who were potentially valuable students, a lantern lecture on Local History, Local or Central Government was more likely to arouse interest than Literature. However, the lantern lecture required an early follow-up with talks designed to encourage discussion and cover the subject without losing the more elementary members of the audience a matter with which the District delegation were in full agreement. The surprisingly buoyant statistics for Literature classes in rural areas were largely related to women, the majority of whom were housewives, and to the better-educated rural 'middle class' with time to spare.

With an extension of Pateman's earlier experience with rural lantern lecture talks, Shearman believed that an important opening development might be in the field of Local History; and much of his activity in Bedfordshire at this time confirmed his belief. The use of local material in social and economic perspectives provided immediate sources of interest and information from class members to "loosen even the most tongue-tied".

1. W.E.A. National Conference May, 1929. Shearman's Paper p.5.

The leaning towards History was undoubtedly true, but also reflected his personal teaching interest and academic discipline. Nevertheless, the key issue to emerge from his experience in Bedfordshire was the securing of a firm interest-base for the students without initially being too demanding of the listener. In his opinion, if there were any attempt to tighten-up on standards of work, which was a widely held view by many senior members of the Association, a decline in attendances would immediately follow especially in rural areas. The purpose should be

> "with the training of intelligence and therefore with the more intelligent members of whatever community with which we are dealing. It is with the training of the natural leaders in the village, who only need drawing out, who need encouragement to read and practise self-expression and the habit of responsibility".[1]

In a remarkable echo of the Final Report of the Adult Education Committee of 1919, he saw rural adult education as a means to

> "put an end to the long stagnation of rural civic life ... as worthy and even urgent aims. The chapels have done something; but their often vigorous democracy is very circumscribed. The post-war Recreation Halls and Huts are in many places more hopeful, though in others they languish for lack of just that leadership and just that widespread sense of responsibility which, it is claimed, the W.E.A. can do more than any other body to foster".[2]

For the majority of villagers, the Tutorial Class would continue to be a minority interest but the One Year class could provide a firm basis for many more provided that the results were aimed at discussion rather than written work as prescribed in the Regulations. Perhaps even greater progress would be made if the Terminal Courses were treated more generously through grant aid under the Regulations.

1. Ibid p.10.
2. Ibid pp.11-12.

When the role of the tutor was considered there was an unequivocal recognition of his importance in the success or failure in any rural venture. While this was equally true in urban centres, the absence of an organised trade union movement, poor communications and a nucleic group meant the tutor was crucial in establishing a permanent foothold and presence in villages. Above all, he was the catalyst in creating a movement through his intimate knowledge of the local people and in enjoying their confidence and support. The tutor, who had to be resident in his area, was required to recognise and be sensitive to his influence which might be more permanent on the village community through his attitude, presence and encouragement than through any classes which he might conduct. Although it would clearly be necessary to supplement his efforts through classes given by part-time tutors with particular expertise, the latter would require guidance from the resident tutor over the degree of patience necessary and sympathetic treatment of subject-matter for the audience. For Shearman, the tutor was clearly required to have pastoral as well as pedagogic responsibilities.

Organisation and finance were the two key issues in rural development and since the majority of classes would not, under existing Regulations, earn full grant from the Board of Education they would need to be taken as part of the salaried work of the resident tutor. His salary would continue to be derived from fixed-term subventions from L.E.A.s and the philanthropic trusts. At that time, some two years before the 1932 Regulations were introduced, it was difficult to foresee alternative solutions to the salary question. It was considered doubtful that the desired expansion would reach the proportions recommended, simply because the L.E.A.s were either antipathetic or unconvinced of the value and priority of liberal adult education. Philanthropic bodies were naturally anxious to avoid any long-term recurrent expenditure commitment to

particular schemes, preferring to finance experimental, pioneer work which, if successful, would then be taken over by statutory bodies.

At the Conference, Sir Percy Jackson, for Carnegie U.K. Trust, confirmed that policy. Although the Trusts believed in the spirit and work of the W.E.A., adult education could not be financed by voluntary effort alone and in his opinion, L.E.A.s should assume financial responsibility in exactly the same way as they did for elementary education. He believed that the L.E.A.s, universities and the W.E.A. could and should co-operate harmoniously with each other to provide adult education. He recognised there was some existing opposition to the 'taint' of officialdom but thought this attitude over-drawn.

His comments were prophetic if not causal and in February, 1931, following representation from the providing bodies, the 1924 Regulations were modified to permit the appointment of a number of full-time tutors through inclusive grants which were to replace those earned through class activity and considered earlier.[1] The appointments made by the Cambridge Board of Extra Mural Studies in 1931 under Article 11 of the new Regulations were in response to these changes in the Regulations and the alacrity of their response indicated the urgency with which the Cambridge Board viewed the necessity for development in rural areas and in recognition of the importance of the resident tutor principle.

As considered in Chapter 4, these changes in the Regulations were designed essentially to assist in the provision of classes in rural areas. The opportunities for the universities to develop new roles were encouraged and promoted by the Regulations

1. Chapter 4.

> "University Bodies will be enabled to employ tutors with the requisite experience and high qualifications to undertake pioneer work in rural districts".

Thus, Article 11 tutors appointed by universities were recognised under the revised Regulations but not those appointed by the W.E.A. even though the suggestion had originated from the Association following the national Conference in 1929.[1] W.E.A. tutors continued to be paid only on the scale of fees applicable to the classes they conducted. This significant change in the level of work in which universities were encouraged to participate meant that elementary and short courses customarily provided by the W.E.A. under Chapter III of the 1924 Regulations became a legitimate and funded area of activity for universities irrespective of W.E.A. acquiescence or co-operation. Thus the W.E.A., active and concerned about development in rural areas but perennially in difficulties over provision largely for financial reasons, found itself in a new disadvantaged position under the new Regulations in 1931-32: penalised by the very statutory modifications it had urged and which were essential to the financing of the development which it wished to promote.

Fortunately for the W.E.A. at least, no rapid expansion of provision in rural areas by the universities proved possible, largely because of the national economic crisis of 1931 which led to a "freezing" of grants until 1935 at the 1931-32 level.[2] From 1935-1938, when the Regulations were again revised, the growth in the work of university extra-mural departments continued to be slow, except for significant growth in Chapter III classes, where One Year classes increased by 70% and Terminal Classes by 105%.[3] In East Anglia as already described, the Extra Mural

1. S.G. Raybould op.cit. 1951, p.32.
2. Ibid p.105.
3. Ibid p.106.

Board expanded its provision at a measured pace under the 1932 Regulations to the growing anxiety and discomfiture of the Eastern District.

The Rural Areas Scheme: From Co-operation to Conflict

In earlier sections of this study, the origins and chronology of the Rural Areas Scheme from 1927 to 1930 and the subsequent establishment of the Rural Areas Committee of the Board of Extra Mural Studies were provided in preparation for an examination of some of the forces which led to difficulties which extended up to the end of the period under review and, indeed, continued during the war. Most of the difficulties which arose are not recorded in any formal sense other than in a series of draft policy documents which proposed various alternatives as both the Board and the W.E.A., at national as well as District levels, sought to preserve traditional powers in the face of expansionist policies of the Board.

Much of the energies of members and officers of both organisations was absorbed in the intricacies of a struggle for organisational control and providing powers for adult education in East Anglia. The Board sought to expand its role in work of non-university character through an extension of its Chapter III activities; and the District engaged in a protracted defence of its traditional and legal position as the major provider of liberal adult education from an uncertain and publicly weak base because of its earlier inability to finance adequately pioneer classes, particularly in Norfolk and Essex at a time when the Board had adequate funds and the support of L.E.A.s. For the W.E.A. it became increasingly difficult to protect and preserve its position from the encroachment which the Extra Mural Board proposed throughout the eight counties which comprised the District's area.

Nevertheless, the position at the outset in 1931 appeared to be propitious for a new co-operative relationship between the Board and the District. The continuation of the successful rural development in Bedfordshire and the anticipated growth in rural Cambridgeshire were matters of much mutual satisfaction - both about progress and also the manner in which agreement had been reached. In Bedfordshire, the District had approached the Board, and it had readily assented to the appointment of Shearman and continuation of the rural scheme. The surrender of the District's providing powers in Bedfordshire had appeared to be much less important than the assurance of the provision for adult education in the county. As Shearman was a committed member of the W.E.A. and promoted W.E.A. classes with the approval of the University's Board, the District not unnaturally saw the arrangement as an extension of the accepted W.E.A. principle of breaking new ground and handing over subsequent continuation to other, financially more able bodies.[1]

It could hardly have been anticipated that the District would recognise that in the transfer of its most successful venture since formation in 1913 there were latent issues which would later lead to major difficulties and which might threaten its continued existence as the major providing body for liberal adult education in Eastern England. It is also probable that at that time, 1931, the Board of Extra Mural Studies did not recognise the important precedent established in the Bedfordshire arrangement, but there was, at least, recognition that in several ways it had been both an important as well as a natural outcome of its own policy decision in February, 1930. Here, for the first time was an agreement, endorsed by the Board of Education and the District, that the University

1. Following his appointment as the Board's tutor, Shearman saw his classes as W.E.A. classes and set about "building a movement through student groups" and he was the architect of the Bedfordshire Federation for this publicly declared purpose. Conversation with Williams, September, 1976.

had entered the Chapter III sphere with a clear role to play in the provision of lectures and classes at academic levels lower than previously considered appropriate. Cambridge had now joined other universities, such as Nottingham and Oxford, which in various ways had co-operated with the W.E.A. in providing opportunities for recognisably working class adult groups. Further, the Board was visibly providing opportunities for liberal adult education from a firm foundation with the active co-operation and financial support of the L.E.A., the W.E.A. County Federation and a recognised tutor with an impeccable academic background. The Board had every reason to believe that it had moved into a secure position in the county.

In Cambridgeshire, the Board's new Article 11 tutor, W.P. Baker, had also been appointed following successful experience in providing classes and short courses under the auspices of the Rural Community Council with partial support from the L.E.A. As members of the R.C.C. Hickson, Morris and Pateman recognised that the financial difficulties of the District had prevented any genuine development of the W.E.A. in the rural areas other than occasional, sporadic attempts to establish groups in villages in close proximity to Cambridge. Additionally, there was an impression that Henry Morris, the Director of Education, was so involved in the L.E.A.'s policy development of village colleges that he was likely to support only those developments which would link the colleges with the university, and he had refused to consider providing significant financial support for W.E.A. activities.[1]

The Board's Parallel Development Bid

In the summer of 1931, the first realisation that the District's

1. Williams in conversation with Pateman, November, 1965 and Jacques, August, 1975.

satisfaction in the Board's assumption of responsibility for the Bedfordshire rural scheme might have been mistaken came when the Board approached the District for similar providing powers for Chapter III in Cambridgeshire to be ceded to it. The precedent of Bedfordshire was explicit:

> "Since the Board are entering into a Scheme for adult education in co-operation with the L.E.A. in Cambridgeshire much in the same way (as) had been done in Bedfordshire it seems as if it might be best for the Board to be recognised as the Responsible Body for this type of course".[1]

As Chairman of the District, and perhaps more significantly as the most important member of the W.E.A. in Bedfordshire, and a leading proponent in the transfer of providing powers in that county to the Board in 1930, Wash forwarded the letter to Ernest Green, then Organising Secretary to the National W.E.A. He was not opposed to the request provided there was a strong federation of W.E.A. student groups:

> "Personally, I think that if we can obtain in Cambridgeshire a federation of W.E.A. student groups which will be represented on the Rural Areas Committee of the Extra Mural Board in the same way as we are represented by a kindred federation in Bedfordshire, there will not be anything lost from the W.E.A. point of view, in the Board being the recognised as the responsible body. But it is a development of the work of the Extra Mural Board which needs thinking out".[2]

Wash's views reveal very well both the laudable concern for, and the naivete of, a basic tenet of the early W.E.A. about the controlling interest by the student body being effected by representation on the decision-making bodies. However, it missed entirely the substantive fact that the District's status as the recognised Reponsible Body was now under major threat and appeared to ignore the possibility that

1. Letter from Hickson to Wash, undated but written in September, 1931.
2. Letter from Wash to Green, probably late September, 1931.

Cambridgeshire would not be the only county in which the Board was interested. The remaining six counties were unlikely to remain the unchallenged preserve of the District following the loss of the main county area in which the W.E.A. effort had been concentrated on rural provision. The matter finally came to a head in 1937.[1]

However, in 1931, the District's dispassionate views were almost totally obscured by the escalation of problems. It was again in serious financial difficulties and Miss Green's position was under review once more, the general economic conditions militated against expansion and even maintenance of existing activities; there was a reaction to and loss of morale over the position in Bedfordshire, to which was added a growing concern over the expansion of the Board's activities visible in the appointments of Lee in Northamptonshire and Baker in Cambridgeshire.[2] The Board had adequate finance, good developing relationships with and financial support from L.E.A.s, and the national W.E.A. was becoming concerned by the axis developing between Local Authorities and the Universities who were beginning to become more actively involved in Chapter III work as a result of the opportunities available under the 1932 Board of Education Regulations.

Green recognised or, perhaps more accurately, sensed that the Cambridgeshire question presented a fundamental problem not merely for the District, although it was serious at that level, but also for the W.E.A. as a national movement. Although Firth, National Secretary of

1. See Chapter 8.
2. In Hickson's letter to Wash, an indication of his future planning is conveyed: "I do not think the situation arises at the moment outside these two counties. Of course, we hope that Baker will undertake pioneer work and organise courses in neighbouring rural areas but probably for the moment any courses under Chapter III of the Regulations could be arranged in the usual way" i.e. through the District as Responsible Body.

the W.E.A., could not have opposed the original agreement to surrender providing powers in Bedfordshire, it appeared that Green had been unaware of the arrangement. In a letter to Pateman over the Cambridgeshire issue in 1931 he claimed:

> "I am afraid that I never understood until I saw Hickson's letter to Wash that even in Bedfordshire, the Extra-Mural Board had become the recognised body under Chapter III. It may have been my stupidity, but I had not realised it. I think it is unfortunate, and I think the Universities are undertaking a form of work which is going to have the affect (sic) of reducing their reputation for the maintenance of high standards. They are rather too prone to accept the point of view of reactionary educational committees which are afraid of the W.E.A. If the L.E.A. were to lay down as a condition of grant that we should have nothing to do with the University body, we should refuse the grant, and I do not see why Universities should not show the same loyalty to us".[1]

The altruism in Green's letter was not likely to have much influence on a university body about to seize opportunities for growth in important and enlargement of its activities in an area which the W.E.A. for a variety of understandable reasons, had failed to develop for almost twenty years. From the letter, it is also clear that Green had discussed the matter informally with Hickson in Cambridge earlier that summer and had objected to any suggestion that the Board of Extra Mural Studies should seek recognition from the Board of Education. According to Green, Hickson had countered by claiming that under "no circumstances could the W.E.A. get financial support from the L.E.A." (i.e. Cambridgeshire) whereas the Extra Mural Board had been promised support of £100 grant for 1931-32 and the prospect of larger grants in future years from the Authority.

1. Green to Pateman, 30 September, 1931.

Green also recognised that the surrender of providing powers carried an implication and reality for the W.E.A. of losing direct access to the Board of Education for any future W.E.A. activities, and thus weaken its national position, marginally at least, at a time when it was already under a variety of pressures from elsewhere. He proposed both bodies should apply for Responsible Body powers for Cambridgeshire and, if granted, it would be possible to arrange for harmonious, mutually acceptable local patterns of provision and perhaps combine to meet any financial deficiencies through the use of the grant from the L.E.A. In his view, this was the most appropriate and sensible compromise, since the L.E.A. grant was non-specific in relation to the provision of adult education and not tied to any specific range, distribution, or type of class. Further, the arrangement would lead to mutually beneficial effects in Cambridgeshire. Its flexibility would allow for local growth in response to demand, subsequently to the establishment of a W.E.A. County Federation which would promote both a sense of belonging to a national adult education movement and provide an appropriate organisational framework within which the full range of classes might be effectively provided, and at the same time avoid the perennial problem in university extension work - that of isolated lecture centres.

Hickson however, saw the solution in very different ways. While welcoming and sharing the hopes and desirability for co-operative endeavour, he favoured the creation of a committee which would assume responsibility for Chapter III classes, under the aegis of the Extra Mural Board. The committee would receive and disburse all grants including those from L.E.A.s and philanthropic trusts, provided to promote and support provision of classes. These would be used for W.E.A. classes as the Board would recognise the District as the Responsible Body for Chapter III work. Thus the District would report to the Extra

Mural Board on its activities which would be published in the Board's reports. This was clearly a proposal which would have established the District in a subordinate position to the Board, both in terms of administrative control and financial dependence. The latter issue was an especially important one in that the District's precarious financial position over many years was particularly acute at that time, and doubts were growing over the ability even to maintain the existing position let alone consider major new initiatives in Cambridgeshire or elsewhere.[1] Additionally, if in the future and because of the District's difficulties in providing adequately for rural Cambridgeshire, the Extra Mural Board also successfully applied for recognition as a providing body for Chapter III classes - a point which Green had already conceded in his compromise solution - the position for the District would be worse than at the present time in that its inadequacies having thus been demonstrated, the Board would have an irrefutable case. Even worse from Green's standpoint, the principle might be adopted by other universities and the W.E.A. at national level would be in an extremely vulnerable position. There can be little doubt that Green wished to resolve the Cambridge issue as amicably, peacefully and as privately as possible, and so he continued to work strenously for an acceptable solution.

On the 2 or 3 November, 1931, Firth informally consulted the Board of Education about the Extra Mural Board's proposals and one can only infer, in the absence of documentary record of the consultation, that Green's proposition was acceptable in that both the Extra Mural Board and the District could be recognised as providing bodies under Chapter III Regulations "for all classes which were organised, in spite of the fact that the Cambridge Extra Mural Board were organising similar classes in

1. Eastern District Annual Report 1930-31.

the same area under the same Regulations".[1] If dual recognition were to be the preferred solution, Firth suggested that a Joint Committee, somewhat similar to the well established Joint Tutorial Classes Committee, might be created for both bodies with W.E.A. members being elected and not merely nominated. Hickson and Pateman would act, as for the Tutorial Classes Committee, as Joint Secretaries. The proposal was endorsed by the Finance and General Purposes Committee of the national W.E.A. on 6 November, 1931, thus giving a clear indication of the urgency with which the matter was being regarded, and an alternative was suggested that if the preferred solution foundered at Cambridge, the W.E.A. should retain its unilateral right to provide classes under Chapter III with continued direct access to the Board of Education.

Negotiations under Pressure

With the alternatives now clear for the W.E.A., a number of informal tripartite discussions were held involving Firth and Green, Professor Ernest Barker and Hickson, and Wash and Pateman. The crucial meeting was held at the W.E.A. national office in London on 4 February, 1932. Tawney, then President of the W.E.A., was Chairman and all those involved in the earlier informal discussions were present except Wash. Wash wrote to Pateman charging him with the presentation of the District's view in favour of the Joint Committee and its principle of joint control, parity of W.E.A. representation which should include an important element of student interest, and with the proviso that the scheme to be reviewed within a period of 3-5 years.[2] Wash stressed that if Tawney wished the District to provide classes in Cambridgeshire independently of both the Extra Mural Board and the L.E.A. there had to be guarantees of financial support by the national W.E.A. to meet the costs incurred for the District's

1. Firth's letter to Pateman, 4 November, 1931.
2. Wash's letter to Pateman, 31 January, 1932.

activities. Without this assurance the District was unable to assume any further financial responsibility for increased class activity. Thus Wash's attitude to the joint committee scheme arose inevitably from the District's standpoint and the ever-present financial crisis.[1] It is probable that the subsequent resistance to this W.E.A. proposal by the Board was influenced by the recognition of the District's extremely weak financial position which prevented its mounting a planned policy of expansion in rural areas.

At the meeting, Green and Barker outlined their different proposals. Green emphasised the W.E.A. fear that the Board's proposals would inhibit the development of a W.E.A. movement which was of much wider significance than that of the mere provision of classes. Oxford University's Delegacy had recognised the weight of this argument and had agreed that all Chapter III classes were the responsibility of the W.E.A. Barker countered by suggesting that the committee with its special responsibility for rural areas would not be in a position analogous to that at Oxford. Further, the committee - to be designated the Rural Areas Committee - was the most appropriate way of ensuring that the specific attention required might be provided; the existing Tutorial Classes Committee, or counterpart on the same model, was not the correct body to handle the new developments envisaged by the Board, which would promote an expansion of work in rural areas beyond Cambridgeshire into the Isle of Ely, North Hertfordshire, North Essex and West Suffolk. With these areas involved and the Board eventually receiving grants from the L.E.A.s these Authorities should be represented on the new committee, as had happened in the case of Bedfordshire. Further, other grants from the Trusts

1. Wash as District Chairman was also acutely conscious that the District Council Meeting on 16 January, 1932 resolved to retain its providing powers in Cambridgeshire.

required recognition through representation on the Rural Areas Committee as did the participants in the scheme such as Women's Institutes and Village Halls Committees.

Thus in Barker's view, the Rural Areas Committee, which had six Extra Mural Board members, should be enlarged by a similar number with representation from the W.E.A. to be selected by the Extra Mural Board.[1] When any new areas were developed, the parent L.E.A. would be invited to nominate its representative to the new committee and a matching arrangement would be made for the W.E.A. to ensure local representation, presumably through the student body. However, Hickson's later version of the meeting was rather less specific, and significantly so: "and the body undertaking the organisation of the classes or representing the students to nominate one member each on the Rural Areas Committee." The implications of this were clear in that the W.E.A. was not to be given the special place which it claimed for liberal adult education as representing working class movements. It could be equally allocated to any other body such as those to which Barker referred in the previous paragraph. There was no formal agreement on this point at the meeting, which might explain the variation in Hickson's later record of the meeting, but the W.E.A. members present pressed their claim that they did, and should, represent all students since there was no other comparable body. Indeed, Tawney argued that it was the prime function of the District to strengthen its position so that it would be seen to be in this position and thus secure the right to represent the adult student movement.

Similarly, the meeting was in conclusive over the issue of Joint Secretaries. The Extra Mural Board was uneasy about the suggestion and

1. W.E.A. Central Office Record No. 196, 9 February, 1932.

Hickson in an attempt to avoid the issue becoming a point of major contention added to the record of the meeting

> "that not only would no obstacles be put in the way of W.E.A. organisers visiting classes under the Rural Areas Committee but the organisation of the student side of the work would be encouraged."

However, Green rejected this addition and the suggestion simply by asserting that if Pateman were Joint Secretary the clause would be unnecessary because of the formal recognition and acknowledgement of shared responsibility for the work of the Committee.[1]

In an attempt to make progress on a basis of co-operation and mutual responsibility, Green offered that if the two proposals over representation of the W.E.A. interest and the joint-secretaryship were accepted and the joint committee established, the national W.E.A. would raise no objections to the Extra Mural Board taking responsibility for classes under Chapter III of the Regulations.[2]

Ultimately, and largely because the District had been a willing partner in the precedent two years earlier over the Bedfordshire arrangement, which undoubtedly had seriously weakened its position, the compromise arrived at was that there would be no joint secretaryship. On that Hickson was known to be adamant.[3] The membership of the R.A.C. was finally modified to provide for three members from the university, three from the W.E.A. and a further three from the L.E.A.s This last group consisted of a representative from Bedfordshire and Cambridgeshire with the other member nominated by the Bedfordshire Federation of the W.E.A. thus directly representing the student body in that county which met Wash's main point. The absence of a similar arrangement for

1. Ibid - footnote added to record of the meeting.
2. Green's letter to Hickson 12 February, 1932, confirmed the offer.
3. Pateman had foreseen the unacceptability of the proposal in a letter to Wash in September, 1931.

Cambridgeshire was simply that there was no existing Federation in the county; apart from the one in Cambridge, the District had no Branches in the county. In relation to planned development of adult education provision there was virtually no agreement possible other than that both the District and Board would become the providing bodies for Chapter III work in the county. This proved to be an unsatisfactory position for both bodies and one which was to lead to some competitive activity in the county and, eventually, to make more difficult future attempts to work co-operatively elsewhere in the District.[1]

Dual Development

In the first few years, the operation of the compromise is summarised in the following Tables (Nos.10 & 11). The concentration in Bedfordshire, especially, and Cambridgeshire is immediately evident and there was a suggestion of an unofficial concordat that the W.E.A. would not (largely because of financial constraints) attempt much provision in Cambridgeshire and the Board would not seek to compete with it in Bedfordshire.[2] Certainly, in Bedfordshire, Shearman ensured, even as a tutor of the Board, but with his own sense of commitment to the W.E.A., that in the county the concentration would be through the W.E.A. Federation which led to an exclusively W.E.A. presence.

An important external constraint was the policy of the Board of Education which in the wake of the economic crisis of 1931 and reduction in public expenditure restricted the activities in adult education provision to existing levels of grant aid and thus little expansion was possible. The restrictions remained in force until the 1935-36 session

1. See Chapter 8 on the problems over development in Norfolk and Essex in 1937-38.
2. Williams in conversation with Pateman, 1965 and Shearman, 1976.

Table 10

No. of Adult Education Centres 1930-37

	W.E.A.	Others (mainly University Extension)
1930-31	18	12
1931-32	23	12
1932-33	21	16
1933-34	20	14
1934-35	31	12
1935-36	31	14
1936-37	34	13

Table 11

Counties and Types of Courses 1930-37

Courses:	Tutorial	University Extension	Sessional	One Year	Terminal	Total
1930-31						
Bedfordshire	-	-	-	4	14	18
No. of Students				57	252	309
Cambridgeshire	-	3	-	-	9	12
No. of Students		97			236	333
Essex	1	1	-	-	-	2
No. of Students	17	140	-	-	-	157
1931-32						
Bedfordshire	-	-	1	3	17	21
No. of Students	-	-	19	58	396	473
Cambridgeshire	-	3	-	-	7	10
No. of Students	-	85	-	-	154	239
Essex	1	1	-	-	-	2
No. of Students	13	124	-	-	-	137
Isle of Ely	-	-	-	-	4	4
No. of Students	-	-	-	-	107	107
1932-33						
Bedfordshire	2	-	-	3	13	18
No. of Students	28	-	-	48	275	351
Cambridgeshire	-	3	-	-	7	10
No. of Students	-	83	-	-	165	248
Essex	-	1	-	-	2	3
No. of Students	-	103	-	-	40	143
Isle of Ely	-	-	-	-	4	4
No. of Students	-	-	-	-	76	76
Hertfordshire	-	2	-	-	1	3
No. of Students	-	97	-	-	31	128
1933-34						
Bedfordshire	2	-	1	2	9	14
No. of Students	22	-	16	37	207	282

Table (cont.)

	Tutorial	University Extension	Sessional	One Year	Terminal	Total
1933-34(cont.)						
Cambridgeshire	-	2	-	-	8	10
No. of Students	-	66	-	-	150	216
Essex	-	1	-	-	4	5
No. of Students	-	98	-	-	172	270
Isle of Ely	-	-	-	-	4	4
No. of Students	-	-	-	-	69	69
Hertfordshire	-	1	-	-	1	2
No. of Students	-	31	-	-	21	52
1934-35						
Bedfordshire	3	-	-	2	14	19
No. of Students	40	-	-	36	309	385
Cambridgeshire	-	2	-	-	10	12
No. of Students	-	39	-	-	242	281
Essex	-	3	-	-	2	5
No. of Students	-	218	-	-	60	278
Isle of Ely	-	1	-	-	6	7
No. of Students	-	70	-	-	116	186
Hertfordshire	-	-	-	-	1	1
No. of Students	-	-	-	-	17	17
1935-36						
Bedfordshire	1	-	-	2	16	19
No. of Students	13	-	-	34	261	308
Cambridgeshire	-	3	-	-	9	12
No. of Students	-	46	-	-	175	221
Essex	-	5	-	-	2	7
No. of Students	-	275	-	-	44	319
Isle of Ely	-	1	-	-	7	8
No. of Students	-	30	-	-	108	138
Hertfordshire	-	-	-	-	1	1
No. of Students	-	-	-	-	15	15

Table (cont.)

	Tutorial	University Extension	Sessional	One Year	Terminal	Total
1936-37						
Bedfordshire	1	-	-	3	19	23
No. of Students	12	-	-	55	421	488
Cambridgeshire	-	2	-	-	11	13
No. of Students	-	58	-	-	281	339
Essex	-	5	-	-	1	6
No. of Students	-	245	-	-	25	270
Isle of Ely	-	1	-	-	7	8
No. of Students	-	25	-	-	178	203
Hertfordshire	-	-	-	-	2	2
No. of Students	-	-	-	-	37	37

Table 12

Summary of Table 11 (i.e. previous table)

	1930-31	1931-32	1932-33	1933-34	1934-35	1935-36	1936-37
Bedfordshire							
Courses	18	21	18	14	19	19	23
No. of Students	309	473	351	282	385	308	488
Cambridgeshire							
Courses	12	10	10	10	12	12	13
No. of Students	333	239	248	216	281	221	339
Essex							
Courses	2	2	3	5	5	7	6
No. of Students	157	137	143	270	278	319	270
Isle of Ely							
Courses		4	4	4	7	8	8
No. of Students		107	76	69	186	138	203
Hertfordshire							
Courses			3	2	1	1	2
No. of Students			128	52	17	15	37

when the Adult Education Regulations permitted a partial restoration of progressive grants. By 1936-37 the limitations were fully removed and expansion encouraged through the issue of Circular 1444 which, inter alia, also exhorted L.E.A.s to engage in Authority-provided adult education classes.

The national problems of the early nineteen thirties, the continuing financial difficulties of the District, the energies of Shearman in Bedfordshire and the ambitions of the Extra Mural Board in Cambridgeshire all contributed to a concentration in these two counties with but mere reconnaissance and experiment in other rural counties listed in the tables in this chapter. Neither Body was able to establish a firm foothold or bridgehead for its activities in other counties and until 1937 these were regarded as 'open territory. But in 1938 the Extra Mural Board appointed resident tutors in Norfolk and Essex respectively to promote the provision of rural adult education. The issue of exclusive providing powers once more emerged in sharper focus after the period of uncertainty and uneasy co-operation in the earlier years of the decade. It can hardly have been entirely coincidental that Pateman's appointment to the Board in 1935 marked a distinct change in attitude to the District which later became apparent through the refusal of the Board to appoint the new District Secretary to the Rural Areas Committee, or that the planned expansion into East Anglia should emerge within two years of Pateman's appointment as Assistant Secretary to the Extra Mural Board.

Confrontation

The uneasy compromise arrangement between the Board and the District persisted throughout the difficult financial years following the 1931 crisis and the reduction in public expenditure at national level. The partial relaxation of the restrictions began in the 1935-36 session but

was not immediately reflected in the work of the Rural Areas Committee. The full restoration of progressive grants and encouragement of new provisions in adult education by L.E.A.s outlined in the Board of Education Circular 1444 saw an upturn in activities. The principal reason for this expansion was that the Circular exhorted L.E.A.s to consider new ways of providing opportunities for adult education, including co-operation with universities and voluntary bodies. Further, some mechanism was urged to ensure that reviews of existing arrangements were made in order to define the needs of adults together with the types of provision best designed to meet those needs.[1] The Board of Extra Mural Studies clearly regarded this as an open invitation to provide the forum and the machinery through its Rural Areas Committee and to seize opportunities to develop its role and expand its activities in this sphere.

The continuing problem, common to most Extra Mural Departments of Universities, lay in the convention that any initiative was to be in response to expressed needs for courses and classes which arose spontaneously from the student body or lay community. Hitherto, this had been regarded as part of the traditional role of the W.E.A. since its inception. Indeed, the growth of the Association was attributable to its ability to organise the demand and to arrange for a matching supply of classes and tutors. During the nineteen twenties the Association became more competent, organised and skilled in undertaking both facets of the role which accounted for its pre-eminent position as the major providing body of adult education in the country. In the later years of that decade and especially in the early nineteen thirties and stimulated by the 1932 Adult Education Regulations, universities had participated more actively in the provision through the establishment or

1. Board of Education Circular 1444, 6 January, 1936, paragraph 16.

expansion of Extra Mural Departments and by the appointment of resident tutors whose tasks included the organisation of the demand as well as meeting, or arranging, for the expressed needs.

Although there was considerable co-operation between university resident tutors and the various District of the W.E.A. in pursuing common objectives, there were the inevitable occasions when conflicting objectives and ambition led to difficulties between the partners. Some Districts resented the incursion of university tutors into the field of the organisation of student-demand which had previously been the exclusive preserve of the W.E.A. Although the dichotomous relationship did work remarkably well in some areas, such as that of the Berkshire, Buckinghamshire and Oxfordshire District in conjunction with the University of Oxford Delegacy, there were other areas in which the ability of the universities to arrange Chapter III classes, following the introduction of the 1932 Regulations, led to overlapping at academic levels lower than those in which the universities had earlier provided courses. The seizing of this opportunity to expand provision by some universities was equally quickly recognised by the W.E.A. as a major threat to its autonomy and, in some cases, even to its continued existence. The Eastern District was in this latter category and, after the expediency of the Bedfordshire solution, there was a clear expression that no further inroads should be made into the position of the W.E.A. as the Responsible Body for the eight counties which comprised its region.

However, by 1936-37, the developments in adult education in the country, encouraged by the Board of Education's policies, had led to a growth of a triple-partnership in adult education comprising the Voluntary Bodies (principally the W.E.A.), the L.E.A.s and the Universities. On examination, it is immediately clear that it was the universities which

occupied the middle ground between that of the statutory machinery for provision and the Voluntary Bodies which largely articulated the aspirations and needs of individuals, groups and communities for liberal adult education. The universities were the acknowledged custodians of academic standards in the Tutorial Classes and in also offering courses in broadly 'cultural' interests. They enjoyed universal respect and prestige as institutions at the social, cultural and intellectual apex of national life. The L.E.A.s were increasingly providing a wide and diverse range of courses of 'instruction' in practical subjects or for occupational qualifications at 'night school' or evening institutes. Further, the L.E.A. classes were arranged under a different set of regulations from those in adult education, entitled the Regulations for Further Education, which did not specify levels of attainment under which grant-aid was earned and thus were generally not regarded as preparatory for study at levels required under the Adult Education Regulations. Therefore, it was not surprising that universities were regarded by L.E.A.s as providers of a distinct and distinctive form of education for an adult study body for whom their own courses were not geared to serve at that level.

The problem of defining areas of responsibility existed simply because each of the three main providers had pursued individual and separate lines of development, with the W.E.A. tending to assume an intermediate position through its Chapter III courses. There was, of course some overlapping in both directions by the W.E.A.: the Tutorial Classes were firmly in the University field while some of its pioneering, short terminal courses anticipated subjects in which the L.E.A.s were, later, to arrange courses e.g. country dancing, esperanto, civics, and general science. The boundaries of the W.E.A. sector were in reality somewhat ragged margins and overlapping as they did with both universities

and the L.E.A.s it was inevitable that some of its traditional pioneering activities were later taken over by the other two providing bodies and, in several regions, the W.E.A. Districts were placed under considerable pressure to contract. Attempts, such as those made by the Cambridge Board of Extra Mural Studies, to encroach on designated responsibilities of the W.E.A. posed an even greater threat than the "boundary" problem associated with innovative development and were naturally resisted with considerable vigour.

Nevertheless, the middle ground between the W.E.A. and the L.E.A.s was a promising area for development by universities. Many saw their role as central to the tasks of Circular 1444 in the surveying of needs and the co-ordination of efforts to organise the appropriate response.

> "The mere increase in the variety of voluntary interests concerned in the demand for adult education implies new problems of planning and the need for increased participation by the Universities in the tasks of organisation".[1]

In the Eastern District, the matter was already under discussion by late 1936 when the District, alarmed at the encroachment of the Extra Mural Board into its Chapter III activities, and the outline of its intentions for expansion into Norfolk and Essex through the appointment of two Article 11 resident tutors, decided to establish its own sub-committee to consider future relations with the Board of Extra Mural Studies. An early indication of potential difficulty arose in September, 1935, immediately following the appointment of Jacques as District Secretary. When Pateman was District Secretary, he had been accommodated at Stuart House within the Extra Mural Board's offices and paid £200 a year as Joint Secretary for Tutorial Classes and as Secretary for the Cambridge

1. Universities Extra Mural Consultative Committee Memorandum "Problems of Expansion in Adult Education" October, 1937. C.U.P.

Annual Summer School. The sum was not inconsiderable and amounted to approximately one-half of Pateman's salary. On appointment to the Board, Pateman continued to discharge both functions as its Assistant Secretary.

As already noted, the District was thus faced with two additional financial problems: the requirement to lease offices for the new Secretary and to find the whole of the District Secretary's salary out of its own resources. Initially, the District had been pleased with Pateman's appointment and assumed it would be advantageous to the W.E.A., but by early 1936 there was a growing realisation that his appointment to the Board had substantially increased the District's difficulties.

Accordingly, an approach was made to the Board for some financial assistance during a difficult period of adjustment to a wholly new situation. In February, 1936, the District formally asked the Board for a grant in aid for its activities and also to pay Jacques in his capacity as the Joint Secretary of the Tutorial Classes Committee. The request was rejected on the grounds that the Board was not prepared to contribute to the District and that to pay Jacques almost immediately after the appointment of Pateman as its own Secretary for Tutorial Classes would lead to an unjustifiable increase in administrative costs borne by the Board. The acute financial difficulties of the District, especially those directly arising from the change in District Secretary, were, however, acknowledged and a non-recurring grant of £100 was approved by the Extra Mural Board: £75 in 1936 and £25 in 1937.[1]

Faced with a deficit of £170 and an overdraft of a further £100, the

1. Hickson's letter to Jacques, 11 May, 1936.

District Executive Committee accepted the offer in June, 1936. There was considerable regret at the attitude of the Board over the District's difficulties and there were considerable misgivings about future relationships with the Board. Only a few months later, these serious misgivings were confirmed when the Board's proposals to extend the activities of the Rural Areas scheme were announced. The proposals to appoint resident tutors in Norfolk and Essex alarmed the District and although there was further informal discussion between Hickson, Pateman, Green, Shearman and Jacques, little headway was made and the position appeared to be very similar to the inconclusive discussions of 1931-32. The failure then to establish clearly and with some precision a basis for co-operative enterprise between the District and Board was even more evident in 1937 as the District was obviously in a weaker position than it had been in the earlier round of discussion. Pateman was now firmly within the Board's establishment and had much to gain from expansion of the Board's Chapter III activities, since it was his particular role and special interest. Further, the Board had the financial support of L.E.A.s which had grown steadily during the intervening period whilst the W.E.A.'s position in relation to L.E.A.s and the Trusts had gradually weakened, both in the sense that with the developing L.E.A.-University axis there had been no similar growth in relationships between the L.E.A.s and the District, and in the case of the charitable Trusts, grants given in earlier years had been used in a variety of ways and renewal was becoming increasingly difficult.

It was with a sense of foreboding that in December, 1937, the District established its own special sub-committee re-calling earlier experiences and the growing muscularity of the Board's energies and resources to examine its relationships with L.E.A.s and the Extra Mural Board. Its first priority was the consideration of the greater problem,

namely that of the Board of Extra Mural Studies and its proposals under the Rural Areas Scheme.

Chapter 8

The Rural Areas Scheme: The Search for Agreement

The Problem for the W.E.A.

The Eastern District's problems over the expansion of the activities of the Board of Extra Mural Studies formed merely a part of a complex set of emerging difficulties with which the national W.E.A. was faced during the nineteen thirties. Although the history of the W.E.A. has yet to be written in detail, sufficient is already known about the inter-war period to acknowledge the influence of the 1932 Adult Education Regulations in promoting the growth of activities by the universities in providing adult education at new and lower academic standards than those traditionally associated endeavours with their ~~activities~~.[1] Additionally, the expansion of L.E.A. activity in other forms of adult education through the provision of courses of a 'practical' kind - either broadly recreational or vocational - led to some competition with the W.E.A.: indirectly through the types of courses offered, but directly in relation to the potential student population.

Initially, some universities had not sought providing powers under the 1932 Regulations and the W.E.A. continued to be the major provider of this type of course. But there were exceptions. The most notable were Birmingham and Nottingham, both of which were providing One Year and Terminal courses before the introduction of the 1924 Regulations. The Regulations of 1924 were framed to recognise these earlier initiatives and

1. T.W. Price op.cit., Mary Stocks, op.cit., S.G. Raybould op.cit., and Roger Fieldhouse The Workers' Educational Association: Aims and Achievements 1903-77 Syracuse University Publications in Continuing Education 1977 Chapter 3, pp.15-34.

to permit existing work by universities to continue as part of a de facto situation, which was successful both in its intention and achievement. The availability of exceptional recognition under the Board of Education Regulations was intended as a temporary measure under these circumstances in order to permit continuation of existing practice, and to assist those areas in which it was thought the W.E.A. and other Voluntary Bodies might be unable to meet existing needs. Only Cambridge University and University College, Hull sought any significant provision under this section and Chapter III of the Regulations.

The difficulties with which the District had been faced in 1930-31 had been acute and under the then new Regulations it was permissible for the W.E.A. and the University to use the exceptional clause to continue the rural scheme in Bedfordshire; a development supported at that time by the national W.E.A. and endorsed by the Board of Education. Although the circumstances were dissimilar, Hull used the Cambridge precedent in 1933-34 in an attempt to exercise Chapter III powers in East Yorkshire. The bid was vigorously resisted by the Yorkshire District of the W.E.A., led by its energetic, voluble and powerful District Secretary, G.H. Thompson. However, a compromise was agreed in that both the University College and the District provided Chapter III classes through an existing committee for other classes which co-ordinated the activities of the District and University College to minimise duplication and avoid open competition. A similar committee, analogous to the Joint Tutorial Classes Committee, was the model that Green had in mind when the problem first arose over the University intentions for Cambridgeshire in 1932. Unlike the Eastern District, the Yorkshire District was less concerned with its approved powers to provide Chapter III classes and much more concerned with the exercising of that right within its area.

Other than in these two areas, the problem of overlap, encroachment and competition was not apparently widespread or acute. The Board of Education Annual Report for 1935-36 reveals that after the operation of the Regulations for four years the position in England and Wales was:

Table 13

Chapter III Courses 1935-36[1]

Total No. of courses	1,337			
Universities and University Colleges	246	Distribution:	Cambridge	40
			5 Universities	21
			4 University Colleges Nottingham, Hull, Reading, Exeter	185
			7 Universities	0
W.E.A. and Others	1,091	Distribution:	W.E.A.	676
			Other Voluntary	87
			L.E.A.	328

Within the total for universities, the twenty one courses provided by five universities might be regarded as those special and isolated examples for which the Regulations had provided under its exceptional clause. Thus of the universities, only Cambridge was undertaking a significant volume of Chapter III work. For a variety of reasons, some associated with their origins, the four university colleges had made a substantial contribution to the provision of Chapter III courses. Although consideration of their special contribution lies beyond the scope of this study, much of their activities lay in urban centres with little work in rural areas.

Thus the proposals made by the Cambridge Board of Extra Mural Studies from 1931 onwards represented not merely an acute local problem but alarmed the national W.E.A. about the more serious consequences of a new

1. Board of Education Annual Report, 1935-36, H.M.S.O.

university encroachment upon the traditional area of work undertaken by the W.E.A., which, if unchecked, might provide a model and precedent for emulation by other universities. The Bedfordshire solution might have been regarded as an isolated expediency, but the Board's proposals for Cambridgeshire in 1932 had led to a serious concern that it was only the vanguard of a strategy designed to involve all eight counties in Eastern England in which the Eastern District had territorial providing interest. It had been known since the early nineteen thirties that the Extra Mural Board had under consideration such a plan of development and in 1938, Professor Barker, Chairman of the Rural Areas Committee of the Board "visualised the Rural Areas Scheme as eight counties one."[1] It was believed that as early as 1934, W.P. Baker, the Board's resident tutor in Cambridgeshire had undertaken pioneer classes in Huntingdonshire without either approval or knowledge of the Eastern District. When the discussion between the Board and the District reached an openly acrimonious level in 1938, this kind of covert activity had led the national W.E.A. to become "extremely agitated."[2]

The unilateral planning and activities of the Extra Mural Board reached a peak of concern for the W.E.A. when it was announced in 1937 that the Board was to appoint two further resident tutors: one in Norfolk and the other in Essex. The anxiety over this development was reflected in other Districts of the W.E.A. and Thompson in Yorkshire and E.H. Littlecott in the Western District wrote to Jacques urging that a firm stand should be taken by the Eastern District on this issue.[3] In his

1. Green's letter to Hickson, 15 February, 1938.
2. Letter from Jacques to A.C. Allen, District Chairman, 16 February, 1938. This was probably an innocent matter as Baker arranged several courses in conjunction with existing W.E.A. Branches in his area and was a tutor known for his belief in co-existence of university and W.E.A. courses.
3. For example, Littlecott's letter to Jacques, 28 April, 1938, emphasised that the District was "fighting a test case the result of which I feel confident will have far reaching effects throughout the country".

forthright way, Thompson believed that the W.E.A. cause had been hindered by the vacillation of, and even possible collusion between, the officers of the national Association. In a letter to Jacques he averred that "Firth in one conversation which I had with him, said we must be very careful not to do anything which could be interpreted as a frontal attack upon the Extra Mural Departments."[1] Perhaps Thompson was not the best advocate for the W.E.A. and appeared to enjoy his reputation as gadfly to the Association's National Officers. Green reminded Jacques, when the latter quoted Thompson's views, that there was a wry feeling "for the Head Office of the W.E.A. to be transferred to Leeds!"[2]

For the W.E.A. the issue had wider implications than the territorial one, important though that in itself was, as it believed the aims and purpose underlying the existence of the Movement since its inception were seriously threatened. The W.E.A. had always regarded its paramount role as that of the organised voice of the needs of working people denied opportunities for higher education, and as the organisation which existed to provide opportunities for adult education, essential to the growth of an educated democracy. To achieve these the W.E.A. existed to control both the supply of educational opportunity to satisfy those needs and to provide the tutors required without interference, pressure, or patronage from other educational agencies. The encroachment of the universities represented a direct threat to the autonomy of the student and the principles which under pinned the origins of the W.E.A. Not all of the universities or L.E.A.s accepted this view. Hickson, as co-author with Peers of the Universities Extra Mural Consultative Committee Pamphlet,

1. Letter to Jacques, 1 March, 1938.
2. Letter to Jacques, 3 March, 1938.

1937 was quite prepared to disagree.[1]

The pamphlet, published in October, 1937, appeared at a time when following the issue of Board of Education Circular 1444 the L.E.A.s were urged to establish

> "in co-operation with Universities and Voluntary Bodies, some machinery for surveying from time to time the needs of adults in the area and the types of provision best designed to meet them".[2]

While acknowledging the importance of the pioneering work of the W.E.A. and recognising its continuing central position in future development, the pamphlet claimed that it

> "is unlikely that new demand evoked in the way suggested will express itself through one voluntary organisation, however important; and no one organisation will have the resources to enable it to meet the whole needs. The chief problem, therefore, in those areas in which spontaneous demand has already been largely met, will be to provide increased facilities for organisation.... Indeed some measure of responsibility for organisation is implicit in the establishment by a University of an extra-mural department ... it seems likely that the Universities will find it necessary, to an increasing extent, to assist in establishing contacts with potential groups of students and in maintaining those contacts when they are established. The mere increase in the variety of voluntary interests concerned in the demand for adult education implies new problems of planning and the need for increased participation by the Universities in the tasks of organisation. It is impossible, therefore, entirely to separate problems of demand from problems of supply."[3]

The policy of the U.E.M.C.C. was thus explicit. The future policy of provision through extra-mural departments was not to be mediated through an expression of needs channelled through voluntary bodies, especially the W.E.A. It was clearly the intention to stimulate, initiate

1. Hickson in a letter to J.H. Thompson, 13 December, 1937 "I must, however, correct your impression that the U.E.M.C.C. were not aware that they were raising points of far reaching importance - what you describe as 'Questions that have been simmering underneath'."
2. U.E.M.C.C. Memorandum 'Problems of Expansion in Adult Education' p.1.
3. Ibid pp.3-4.

and organise courses for adult students independently of the voluntary bodies.

The difficulties for the W.E.A. were compounded by the Association's lack of a clear policy over the question of co-operation and acceptance of the principle of partnership with other educational agencies which were expanding their provision in adult education at levels in which, hitherto, there had been a largely unquestioned field for the W.E.A. Further, there was the undeniable record of the Association's acquiescence over university and L.E.A. involvement during the previous decade. In the Eastern District, the evidence was especially firm: it was the District itself which had taken the initiative over the Bedfordshire question in 1930, and in 1931-32 it had been the national Association which had proposed joint responsibility for Chapter III provision in rural Cambridgeshire.

The District's Special Problems

In view of the policy revealed in the U.E.M.C.C. pamphlet, the national Association probably took the view that while university encroachment in its general sense might be opposed, much ground had already been conceded in the Eastern District. A policy of continued co-operation in an attempt to find a solution which would at least limit the extent of the university's encroachment in the work of the District appeared prudent. This approach is evident from the notes of the District's sub-committee on its relations with the Extra Mural Board. At the meeting on 1 May, 1938, it is clear that some informal discussion had taken place between the officers of the Board and District from which had emerged two substantive issues: the constitutional position of the District Secretary's membership of the Rural Areas Committee, and the nature of the relationship

between both bodies in agreeding areas of work in the region.[1] It was believed until both these matters of status and control were clarified and then resolved, the District would oppose unequivocally the appointment of additional resident tutors in the service of the Board. The attitude of the Cambridge Board, cur ious at least to the W.E.A., in seeking providing powers for classes and courses at academic standards considerably lower than those traditionally provided by universities also required detailed consideration and resolution. When viewed from any standpoint, retrospective or prospective, Cambridge was in an anomalous position and was likely to establish new and reprehensible precedents threatening the established, unique position of the W.E.A., recognised as a voluntary body with organising and providing powers for liberal adult education.

The practice of other university extra-mural departments such as London, Bristol and, especially, Oxford was constantly pressed in discussion with the Cambridge Board. All recognised and supported the activities of their W.E.A. District as co-ordinating bodies and in some cases the extra-mural departments provided financial support for these purposes. For example, Oxford gave £50 and Nottingham £200 a year. The Eastern District's view was that the Cambridge Board was likely to undermine and ultimately replace the work of the W.E.A. through its declared intention to enlarge its existing providing powers for Chapter III classes. Accordingly, its attempts to do so were resisted and the matter reported to the Board of Education to prevent further approval of providing powers for work recognisably identifiable and accepted as the responsibility of the Association.

1. Eastern District Executive Committee Minute Book No. 3.

From later meetings of the District's sub-committee, it emerged that in order to limit, if not to prevent, the effects of the unilateral action by the Cambridge Board, the District should appoint its own tutor organiser in Norfolk where it could be justified both on financial and developmental criteria. Somewhat reluctantly Essex was omitted simply because it was thought unlikely that the post could be financed and there were some doubts about the potential of student response in the north of the county, the area least developed for adult education. An approach was made to the Cassell Trust, and a grant secured for an appointment of an organising tutor in Norwich and Norfolk. The intentions of the Board over its own appointments galvanised the District's committee to press for their man to be appointed to the area not later than September, 1938.

Following these meetings in mid-1938, a confidential memorandum was prepared by Jacques and Lionel Elvin, then Hon. Treasurer of the District, in an attempt to establish precisely the criteria on which some agreed working relationship might be established with the Cambridge Board. If accepted, the intention was that it would set limits and provide guidelines for new development particularly in the east of the region which both bodies were anxious to introduce. The District memorandum proposed, firstly, that an attempt should be made to establish levels of activity for both bodies, with the W.E.A. undertaking work at the more elementary level through its Chapter III classes which would promote and encourage a demand for classes of higher standard, principally those traditionally and recognisably within the University's sphere under Chapter II. Thus their existing co-operation through the Joint Tutorial Classes Committee would continue to be a harmonious and an enlarged joint responsibility. As in the past, the District would continue its well established role of responding to student demand and organising the

potential student population through the lower level work.

This last issue was the crucial one for the District; without its recognition and acceptance, the W.E.A. would be in an extremely weak position. The Cambridge Board had a much larger administrative unit, ample funds to promote its classes, a growing set of relationships based on parity of esteem with L.E.A.s and no problem over the appointment of the required number of part-time tutors. The District's defence of its position was simply that for some twenty five years it had been the only organisation exclusively involved in liberal adult education which it had nurtured and promoted in a variety of successful ways, but principally in response to the expressed wishes of working people followed by the provision of appropriate courses through which it met those needs. Above everything else, it had been the District which had created a sense of belonging to a wider, national movement concerned with adult education in the creation of a responsible democracy. The university contribution had been useful but its adult students had no sense of belonging to, or any identity with, other students other than in the class attended - an unsatisfactory position in a predominantly rural area. The W.E.A., conscious of rural economic problems and social isolation, had successfully overcome the difficulties through the formation of county Federations of Branches. In the District, the existence of Federations in Bedfordshire and Northamptonshire had achieved much, not least being the sense of social cohesion and the contact between Branches and villages, which, in turn, had led to significant growth in adult education, since these two counties were the most important areas for adult education in Eastern England, and many class members were contributing much to the civic and social life in their areas.

However, there were disturbing signs in Bedfordshire since the

University had assumed responsibility for much of the work. Shearman's successor, Plaskitt, was reported to be fostering an attitude of antipathy towards the W.E.A. in favour of closer, direct links with the Cambridge Board. The county Federation were alarmed and resentful over the inability of the two providers of liberal adult education to work harmoniously together. An unnecessary tension and difficulty existed in Bedfordshire between the student body and the resident tutor which was responsible for a reduction in local co-operation and a decline in class activity, simply because the tutor was not working through the Federation which represented the corporate views of students and Branches.[1] The District approached the Cambridge Board over the problem in an attempt to improve relationships in the county, but there is no record of any action other than an article by Plaskitt in the District's supplement to the "Highway" a few months later explicitly referring to the importance of co-operation with the county Federation.

The District's legitimate claims for its important role in giving shape and substance to student demand rested almost entirely on the recommendations of the Final Report 1919 and supported by the Adult Education Committee's Report of 1933. On this basis the District's memorandum realistically accepted the existing position in Bedfordshire and Cambridgeshire as counties in which there could be no solution other than joint, but independent, enterprise. Nevertheless, it sought to set future limitations on the Board's activities. It proposed that Chapter III classes should be the exclusive concern of the W.E.A. elsewhere in the region, with the Cambridge Board wholly involved in its traditional, established spheres of Extension Lectures and Tutorial Class programmes under Chapter II. To promote the potential activities of the Cambridge

1. Letter from Chairman Bedfordshire Federation to Jacques, 1 February, 1939.

Board under Chapter II, and as a gesture of co-operation the District offered to convene a conference of its Branches so that they might be better informed through the Cambridge Board's officers about the opportunities for courses of study available through Extension Lectures programmes. Not surprisingly, the Cambridge Board refused to participate in such a conference which would have publicly confirmed the District's view that it alone should organise the student body and co-ordinate arrangements of courses under Chapter III and at levels below the Tutorial Classes.

Fundamental to any co-operative, collaborative enterprise which might emerge was the position of the District Secretary. It was anticipated that Jacques would become a member, established or co-opted, of the Rural Areas Committee. But the offer did not materialise, although it was pressed through the District Committee and by Green on behalf of the national Association. This exclusion, extraordinary on both constitutional and personal grounds, was not merely damaging to Jacques personally but also to the District's status in seeking a position of full and equal partnership in the development of adult education in rural areas. His exclusion was probably unique in the whole country, in that a District Secretary was excluded from deliberations of a body closely involved in planning and providing Chapter III classes within the District's region. In effect, the exclusion of Jacques and the protracted delay by the Cambridge Board even to consider his membership of the Rural Areas Committee, merely served to illustrate the existence of an antipathetic attitude towards the W.E.A. and to heighten the problems of attempting to reach a concordat for genuine, amicable co-operation between both bodies. However, until it was resolved, the Eastern District was not in any real and participative sense involved in the deliberations of negotiations of the parties engaged in the Rural

Areas scheme; neither was there an easy, natural pattern of communication between the Board and the District.

Negotiations

In the face of an intransigent attitude on both these main issues by the W.E.A., the Cambridge Board established its own sub-committee to consider relations with the W.E.A. in May, 1938. To this group, the Eastern District's sub-committee submitted its memorandum already referred to above. While the protracted negotiations were proceeding, the Board unilaterally decided to appoint its resident tutors in Essex and Norfolk by September, 1938. Under pressure, the District agreed in principle that no objections would be raised to the appointment of an Article 11 tutor in Norfolk, but could not agree to the proposed appointment in Essex.[1]

For the W.E.A. the distinction was an important one. In Norfolk, the tutor's work would be governed largely by the current Board of Education Regulations for Adult Education, but in Essex the tutor's salary was to be borne at least partially by the L.E.A. and responsibility for his work, and thus the way in which it would be carried out, would become the joint responsibility of the Cambridge Board and Essex L.E.A. Thus, it was obvious that there was every possibility that the Essex tutor might be involved in organising Chapter III classes and the W.E.A. was not prepared to cede its authority to the Board for pioneering classes in North Essex where the District was already recognised by the Board of Education as the providing body for Chapter III work. Further, in South Essex, London University already had a resident tutor but all Chapter III

1. Eastern District Minute Book No. 3. District Executive Committee September, 1938. It will be recalled from Chapter 4, that salaried Article 11 tutors were appointed under the 1932 Adult Education Regulations specifically for pioneer development in rural areas such as Norfolk, and thus the District could not have resisted the appointment of a Board tutor.

classes were arranged and provided under the aegis and control of the London District of the W.E.A.

Not surprisingly, the Eastern District held firmly to the view that identical arrangements should apply to Cambridge University's new appointment in Essex. Although the District had no wish to be seen to be obstructive, having already made much of their own desire for the principle of constructive co-operation, there was a danger in agreeing to the principle of the tutor's appointment in Essex as implying surrender of their right to provide classes under Chapter III of the Regulations. It was finally agreed, informally, and there appears to be no surviving record of the agreement, if ever one had existed, (which seems doubtful since much was done outside formal meetings), that agreement by the District to the principle of the appointment in Essex would not be interpreted as conceding to the University's Board of Extra Mural Studies the right to continue to provide classes under Chapter III of the Regulations. Accordingly, the post, as for Norfolk, was advertised in June, 1938.

With some attempt being made to establish a working relationship, or at least a recognition of co-existence, Jacques was finally invited to attend meetings of the Cambridge Board's sub-committee on relations with the W.E.A. from July, 1938 onwards. Even so, the recognition was clearly reluctantly given and was wrung from Professor Barker and Hickson by Ernest Green in June, 1938, when he delivered an ultimatum that either Jacques were to be allowed to attend or he, Green, would refuse to attend any further meetings between both sub-committees.[1] Anxious to avoid an open breach, the Board conceded and Jacques accompanied Green to an

1. Green's letter to Jacques 3 June, 1938.

extremely important meeting of the Board's sub-committee in July. At this meeting, Green submitted a W.E.A. memorandum produced as a result of discussions at District level in which Elvin had been much involved, and after much thought at the Association's central office. It was, in effect, a draft constitution for the Rural Areas Committee and a statement of its future functions cast in relation to possible new developments. Understandably, the memorandum concentrated on issues of considerable importance to the W.E.A. and reflected an attempt to introduce a spirit of genuine co-operation while ensuring that the autonomy and responsibility of the Association should continue to be recognised and respected. The document focussed on representation through the proposed membership and responsibility for the varying types of classes.

Recommendations by the W.E.A.

In July, 1938, when Green submitted his proposals the Rural Areas Committee consisted of nineteen members viz.

L.E.A.s:	Bedfordshire	3
	Cambridgeshire	3
	Isle of Ely	3
Extra Mural Board		3 plus Hickson and Pateman as its officers
W.E.A.		3
W.E.A. Federation		1 - Bedfordshire.

In addition, co-optation was possible to include representatives from charitable Trusts and in July, 1938, the Thomas Wall Trust was so represented. Jacques was added to the membership as from that meeting.

The difficulty for the W.E.A. was that although it was recognised nationally as the most important body for Chapter III work, its representation on the committee was under 25% of the membership and did not adequately reflect its importance either nationally or locally. The

disproportionate number of L.E.A. members was responsible for this imbalance and, other than in terms of direct financial interest, did not genuinely reflect the importance of their activities as, for example, could be demonstrated by the three representatives for the Isle of Ely which had a mere four classes. If the principle of L.E.A. representation were extended to cover all eight counties, the committee would be entirely under their control since there would be a total representation of a possible maximum of twenty four L.E.A. members. To prevent this logical,but unwieldy membership, Green proposed the composition of the committee be amended to ensure a balance between all the participating interests in the provision of adult education. His proposal was:

L.E.A.s	6 (2 members from each L.E.A. already supporting the Scheme)
Extra Mural Board	6 (3 academic and 3 non-academic members)
W.E.A.	6
Officers	3 (Hickson, Pateman and Jacques)

Alternatively, and conscious that the proposal might be viewed as a hostile one by the L.E.A.s a situation which the Rural Areas Committee might wish to avoid, if only for financial reasons, Green suggested that the membership might be increased by a similar factor to allow the three main participants to continue with the nine L.E.A. members and the Board and W.E.A. increased to identical figures to include the officers proposed and which would effectively increase the Board's representation by one additional member, but would expand the W.E.A. share by a further two members.[1]

As was the practice elsewhere, Green wished to see the Rural Areas Committee as a purely advisory, co-ordinating body without executive

1. This section is based on Green's memorandum of 11 July, 1938.

powers. Executive powers would be vested in existing mechanisms such as the Tutorial Classes Committee, Extension Courses Committee for Chapter II provision, and the Eastern District for Chapter III work. These committees would in turn, inform the Rural Areas Committee about the level and type of demands for courses and subsequent provision planned in rural areas within the ambit of responsibility of each committee. The implication was inevitable that the Rural Areas Committee, and thus the Cambridge Board, would formally recognise the W.E.A. as the legitimate providing body for Chapter III courses in rural areas. Under this proposal the Rural Areas Committee would only exercise a monitoring, reporting function on development in rural areas of the region. Additionally, the Rural Areas Committee would have financial responsibility specifically for rural work, and not that of any of the other committees. It would receive and disburse funds from L.E.A.s and Trusts for courses of all types in rural areas, making deficiency payments to the relevant providing body when deficits arose.[1]

As an important corollary to this policy, Green argued that L.E.A. grants specifically to supplement salaries of tutors was a short-sighted policy. In his view, these grants should be non-specific, progressive available for provision of classes and used to cover deficits incurred in arranging and supplying classes in rural areas. In this way a greater volume of work would be possible. Under the present method, L.E.A. grants might be used to influence provision of classes of a particular type, and exclude others, or might be used to promote classes in particular areas. Such grants were, or could be, impermanent, subject to wide

1. Deficiency payments were involved when the costs of providing classes which attracted Board of Education grant exceeded the actual income from all sources, including student fees, largely through payment to tutors. It most commonly arose in Chapter III classes as the grant allowed was inadequate to meet heavy tutorial costs.

fluctuations according to political power shifts, and did not allow for expansion in the provision of adult education in rural areas. Here, Green obviously had in mind the Essex arrangement and suggested the Cambridge Board should seek exceptional approval, on geographical and demographic criteria, from the Board of Education for the appointment of a fourth Article 11 tutor.[1] Unfortunately for Green and the W.E.A., the proposals were discussed only briefly at the meeting and the memorandum was remitted to the officers of both bodies to discuss in detail prior to the arrangement of a further meeting of the Board's sub-committee.

On reflection, it was clear that the Cambridge Board could not accept Green's proposals without effectively weakening its existing ad hoc position and strengthening that of the W.E.A. There was a recognition that the memorandum, while useful in discussion towards a solution was clearly unacceptable in its original form. The Board generally believed its initiatives had been successful in the rural areas, not least because of the support received from the L.E.A.s and their involvement in the work. It was strongly claimed that they were more likely to grant-aid the Board than the District. Their representation on the controlling committee had been important, and an unusual feature which the Eastern District had never developed, and there was some justice in the claim that the L.E.A. grants made available to the Board would not have been provided for classes organised by the W.E.A. under Chapter III.

Not unreasonably from the Board's viewpoint, the extension into Chapter III work had undoubtedly led to greater provision of adult education than would have occurred if the field had been left entirely

1. Under the 1932 Regulations only three tutors were allowed under Article 11 for each providing body. At Cambridge these were Bedfordshire (Plaskitt), Cambridgeshire (Baker), and Norfolk (proposed).

to the W.E.A. Further, the Board could claim that through its existing resident tutors, it had been able to develop systematic plans for the provision of all types of courses within the counties already involved simply because their tutors were resident, an important point made by the W.E.A. in Bedfordshire when the case had been made for the appointment of Shearman either to the service of the Bedfordshire L.E.A. or to the Extra Mural Board. The Board clearly believed that the District could not vary the case simply for its own convenience to the derogation of the Board's policy. Through the work of Lee and Baker, the Board had been able to stimulate, organise and provide a range of courses from short pioneer lectures to the three year Tutorial Classes, and had appointed part-time tutors of high quality who were approved by both the L.E.A.s and W.E.A.

Although some modification of the existing machinery might be necessary in the composition of the committee and in the administrative procedures, the framework had proved itself and the expansion of Chapter III powers would be advantageous from every standpoint - students, L.E.A., and, in the view of the Board, the District organisation as well. This last point was an important one for the Board as it claimed to have relieved the voluntary body of considerable financial responsibility and administrative burden.[1] Clearly, the District and the national Association, particularly its Education Officer, Harold Shearman, were not to be allowed to become amnesic about the 1930 crisis in Bedfordshire.

As a conciliatory gesture, the Board proposed that consideration might be given to a working definition of "rural areas" and it was prepared

1. For example, in 1936-37, the cost of providing Chapter III classes under the Rural Areas scheme, undertaken by Plaskitt and Baker was £330 more than the grant earned under the Board of Education regulation grants.

to consider to limit its Chapter III classes to villages and small towns, but little came of this at that time as it merely created new problems of definition on demographic criteria for the delimitation of boundaries between the Board and the District over Chapter III work.

Norfolk and Essex: The Board's Solution

The fundamental differences in attitude and proposed solutions were discussed again in the autumn of 1938 principally between Hickson, Hardman and Pateman on behalf of the Board and Green, Elvin and Jacques for the W.E.A. During the summer of 1938, Hampden Jackson had taken up his appointment as the Board's Article 11 tutor in Norfolk, and shortly after, Edmund Poole had assumed his new responsibilities as the District's tutor-organiser for Norwich and Norfolk, supported by the Cassell Trust grant. In Essex, Douglas-Smith had been appointed as the Board's organising tutor with the support of an L.E.A. grant.

By extraordinarily good fortune, both tutors appointed by the Board were W.E.A. sympathisers and committed to the cause of adult education for working people. Both subscribed to the aims of the W.E.A. as a democratic movement and strongly supported its work as the major provider of adult education. Secondly, and equally importantly, there developed quickly a mutual regard and respect between Jacques, Hampden Jackson and Douglas-Smith which during the ensuing struggle and devious manoeuvring, was strengthened to a remarkable degree; indeed, to describe them as subversive influences in the aims of the Board's expansionist policy would not be an exaggeration. Upon Poole Jacques could, of course, rely without hesitation but it was the quality of the relationship with the Board's new tutors which proved to be critical in the District's defence of its traditional position and which could not have been foreseen.[1]

1. In the case of Hampden Jackson the relationship was to broaden and deepen into an exceptionally close, fraternal relationship over a period of 30 years.

When in the early autumn of 1938, some members of the District, frustrated and angry at the Board's failure to conduct full, open and co-operative discussions over the future relationship, pressed for a confrontation, Jacques, conscious of the growing relationship with the new tutors, persuaded Elvin and Green to move forward slowly to explore in discussion, and be seen to be so doing, all reasonable options and alternatives so that if public and acrimonious confrontation became inevitable, the W.E.A. would be seen to have exhausted all reasonable possibilities prior to an open disagreement.[1] Jacques knew that with the new tutors and particularly with his friend Hampden Jackson in Norfolk, together with the District's own tutor in that county, he could in time demonstrate the ability of the W.E.A., in co-operation with the University's resident tutor working in harness with the District's tutor, to organise, provide and develop adult education in rural areas.[2]

So persuaded, Green adopted Jacques' approach, although it is not entirely clear of the extent to which he was taken into Jacques' confidence over the new tutors. In subsequent discussions between the officers of the Board and District, the main points were in connection with the difficulties which arose over the new constitution, functions and responsibilities of the Rural Areas Committee. These concentrated on the three main proposals in Green's memorandum: the representation of interests on the Rural Areas Committee; the case for the W.E.A.'s retention of absolute providing powers for Chapter III classes; the role of the Committee as the co-ordinating and financial mechanism.

The meetings continued throughout the autumn of 1938 and the winter

1. Jacques argued strongly for this approach in a letter to Green, 25 September, 1938.
2. Jacques, Hampden Jackson and Poole had met to examine co-operative methods of working early September, 1938.

of 1939 with drafts of modified proposals and counter-proposals produced at or following each meeting as both sides attempted to resolve their fundamental differences without an open breach in relationships. Gradually, some of areas of disagreement were in Pateman's phrase "whittled away",[1] although the basic issues were largely unresolved. By December, 1938, it became clear to the W.E.A. members that Jacques' plea for an unhurried pace in discussions to allow Hampden Jackson and Douglas Smith to establish themselves in their respective counties was beginning to produce results. Both were convinced of their ability to provide Chapter III opportunities, organised by the District, concurrently with their own duties for increasing the provision of extension lectures without any obvious role conflict, or difficulties over competing interests. Quietly but effectively both types of courses were beginning to appear in Norfolk and Essex during the winter session of 1938-39 and to which reference is made below. It was realised by the officers of the Cambridge Board, especially Hickson and Pateman, that the new resident tutors were concerned about developing their areas irrespective of the providing agencies and it was only in Bedfordshire that the Board's policy of promoting university-based Chapter III classes was undeviatingly adhered to by the resident tutor, Harold Plaskitt. In Cambridgeshire, Baker took a middle approach, actively supporting classes in existing W.E.A. Branches and concentrating on university expansion in those centres in which the W.E.A. had never been active.

A Unique Difficulty

As part of the protracted negotiations between the Board and the District, Green examined schemes in operation elsewhere which involved University-W.E.A. co-operation in the hope that one or more of these would

1. Pateman's notes of a meeting in November, 1938.

provide useful models through which a compromise solution might be reached. It was thought that the Oxford, Bristol and Hull university and W.E.A. District schemes might be useful as guides, but detailed examination revealed major weaknesses in all when applied to the Cambridge situation from the W.E.A.'s standpoint. For example, the Oxford scheme would have given the Cambridge Board twice as many representatives as the District; the Yorkshire pattern had Thompson, the W.E.A. District Secretary, as Secretary to the Joint Committee, an impossible status for Jacques to achieve when he was not even regarded as a full member of the Rural Areas Committee; the Bristol pattern required a basis of county committees each with a university organising tutor acting as secretary to it, a position totally unacceptable to the Eastern District. There was a gradual acceptance on the part of the W.E.A. that not only was the intention by the Board to apply for powers to provide Chapter III classes throughout the region unique, but in an attempt to resolve the novel situation of Cambridge, an equally unique solution would be required if the Board were not to move into a dominant position. Green was thus forced to return to his original memorandum of July, 1938, and to recognise that if there were no genuine progress towards an acceptance of its main features, there would be no alternative but to recommend that the Board of Education should arbitrate on the disputed position.[1]

This was a last resort for the W.E.A. There had been a period up to mid-December, 1938, when neither body wished to involve the Board of Education, for very different reasons. Earlier in the year, both parties in the negotiations had indulged in brinkmanship, each testing for weaknesses in the adversary and possible withdrawal from extreme positions

1. Green first suggested this course in a letter to Jacques, 27 September, 1938.

in attempting to reach a broadly acceptable solution and, hopefully, one which would confer advantages. There was some measure of agreement in that both bodies wanted a co-ordinated scheme for the development of adult education in rural areas but there was little agreement over how it might be achieved. The Board wished to continue and expand its role through the Rural Areas Committee and the appointment of its own resident tutors. On the other hand the District considered that as the generally successful progenitor of adult education in the region, within the severe limitations of its funding, it should continue to be entirely responsible for Chapter III work as distinct from the university sector's extension courses, and maintain the joint responsibility which both exercised over the provision of Tutorial Classes.

Under these circumstances, the only effective role for the Rural Areas Committee was in an advisory capacity and as a funding body to meet anticipated deficits on rural work. The responsibility for the different types of classes already existed through the joint committee and the two bodies. Quite simply, it would be the responsibility of each committee to handle the applications for classes, make decisions about provision, control the approval of syllabuses, appoint tutors and receive Board of Education grants for approved courses and classes. The Rural Areas Committee would be informed about activities under each of the three existing agencies through periodic reports and asked to meet deficit on classes from income derived from the L.E.A.s and charitable Trusts.

In almost every respect, it became clear by the end of 1938 that the Board's view was almost exactly the reverse of that of the W.E.A. The Board believed that the Rural Areas Committee should control all appointments of resident tutors who would thus be automatically accountable to it for reports on progress of work in rural areas, submitting

applications for classes, seeking approval of syllabuses and programmes, and controlling the appointment of part-time tutors. In effect it was to be a continuation of the role developed by the Committee since 1932, to which should be added the control of all income, including grants from the Board of Education on all classes which would, of course, be under the responsibility of the Committee. The income so derived would be managed by the Committee, which would have overall responsibility for all types of courses and classes in rural areas. The arrangements which it made would be reported for information to the other committees including the appropriate one of the District organisation.

As a natural concomitant of this responsibility, the Committee would provide Chapter III classes within defined criteria although the right of the W.E.A. to organise Chapter III classes throughout the District would be clearly recognised. Finally, in the pursuit of clarification, the Board's resident tutors who were appointed by, and responsible to, the Rural Areas Committee would have their roles more closely defined including a clear responsibility for promoting the interests and organisation of the W.E.A.

A deadlocked position was inevitable and was made even more difficult to resolve because of problems of definition of the roles of the resident tutors in post. Both Hampden Jackson and Douglas Smith had uncomfortable conversations with officers of the Cambridge Board, which were subsequently reported to Jacques, at a time when the Board clearly was unaware of the developing relationship. If this had been known it is inconceivable that the tenor of the conversation would have been as openly hostile to the W.E.A. during that period, September to December, 1938, when discussions between the Board and District were at a delicate stage of negotiation. Further the public utterances of both

parties suggested that although there were genuine differences of opinion, these were held openly and honestly and expressed dispassionately.

The first hint of pressure on the two new tutors to accept and promote the views of the Cambridge Board was reported, en passant, by Jacques to Green in late September, 1938.[1] On the evidence of the letter, it had been suggested in conversation with Hampden Jackson that he should not continue with any activity which might be interpreted as assisting the W.E.A. to become the Responsible Body in Norfolk. In November, 1938, both tutors informed Jacques of a meeting with two officers of the Cambridge Board who were explicit about the Board's intention to become the Recognised Body for Chapter III classes in both counties. Both tutors were asked not to organise any W.E.A. Chapter III classes in existing or former Extension centres. Hampden Jackson refused to give any undertaking on the matter, nor could he agree that there was no place in Norfolk for the W.E.A. In his view if working people wanted adult education they should have access to the W.E.A. and not, as had been suggested, to the N.C.L.C. Both tutors were alarmed at the attitude openly expressed by two senior officers of the Cambridge Board and were, apparently as a direct result of the encounter, more than ever determined to launch W.E.A. courses and establish Branches as quickly as possible in both counties.[2]

Even Poole, the District's tutor organiser, was approached shortly after appointment by officers of the Cambridge Board and asked not to go "into towns or villages where there was or had been Extension work".[3] In Poole's case, to ensure there would not be any misunderstanding over the matter, he was handed a list of Extension Centres marked "active", or

1. Letter, 25 September, 1938.
2. Jacques in a letter to Green, 8 November, 1938.
3. Poole's letter to Jacques, 28 September, 1938.

"dormant" and it was inferred that he should regulate his activities within the constraints of that document.[1]

Jacques reply was characteristically robust and unequivocal: Poole was not bound by any list or suggested curtailment by the Cambridge Board, and after reporting the matter to Elvin, who had an informal conversation with Hickson, who denied Poole's interpretation, Jacques wrote to Hickson to express pleasure that the whole episode had been an unfortunate misunderstanding.[2] Although he stressed the mutual desire for close co-operation and not destructive competition between Extension Courses and Chapter III classes organised by the W.E.A. in Norfolk, Jacques was unmistakeably clear that questions of development and the resolution of problems about Board and District co-operation should be settled between them in Cambridge and not in field-activities in Norfolk. In effect, Jacques was insisting that Hickson should treat with him, and not his tutor, over questions which might affect the provision of W.E.A. classes. If there were genuine co-operation between the Secretaries of both bodies, Jacques was confident that much of the essentially localised activity in Norfolk could be left to the commonsense of the two tutors in the county, with Hampden Jackson clearly recognised as the senior partner. No record exists in Botolph House of Hickson's reply, but Jacques is confident that Hickson agreed with the broad import of his letter in a subsequent conversation.[3]

In Essex on the other hand, the position was more delicate from the W.E.A.'s standpoint. Here, the Board's tutor-organiser, Douglas-Smith, was at the centre of provision with the support of the L.E.A. guaranteed through its financial support of his salary. The W.E.A. was in a

1. Ibid.
2. Jacques to Hickson, 11 October, 1938.
3. Williams in conversation with Jacques, August, 1974.

relatively weak position in the county, with few Branches and no tutor of its own.[1] The ability of Jacques to encourage Douglas-Smith and enlist his support for the work of the District became a crucial factor in the development of Chapter III courses, and, later, an important temporising influence on the pace with which the Board pursued its proposals. Jacques actively involved himself in the Essex situation as it developed in early autumn 1938. He attended an important meeting in Saffron Walden on 18 October, 1938, attended by Revans of the L.E.A., Hickson and Douglas-Smith for the Board, and Jacques for the District. The purpose was to discuss the ways in which policy for the organisation and provision of adult education was to be articulated within the growing pattern of Essex evening institutes which was an important L.E.A. responsibility undertaken by Revans.

For his part, Revans was anxious to learn of the proposals under which the Rural Areas scheme and the W.E.A. were to operate. From his note of the meeting, Jacques foresaw the evening institute developing as "the natural home of adult educational activity" and for his part he wished to see the work of the District develop within existing institutions of the L.E.A.[2] He offered the District Office as a 'clearing house' for all applications for classes in both rural and urban areas in Essex. In effect, Jacques was offering nothing more than the existing District practice for its urban centres. But it was significant that he should offer to extend the practice in Essex openly in the presence of both Hickson and Douglas-Smith. If the development in rural areas of the county were similarly treated, the W.E.A. would, at least nominally, be regarded as the Responsible Body and the applications for rural classes

1. These were: Chelmsford (1937), Harwich and Dovercourt (1933), Silver End (1938).
2. Notes of the meeting were circulated to Revans and Douglas-Smith, but not to Hickson.

then passed to Stuart House for the attention of the Rural Areas Committee, after Jacques had issued the various forms and information.

In effect, Jacques was proposing precisely the solution advocated in Green's memorandum which had not been accepted by the Cambridge Board at its meeting earlier in the year. In his view if this offer were accepted the public would immediately recognise the unity of purpose between the Board and the District, and the resident tutor for the Board would be able to work more effectively with the District as well as for the Board. He conceded that the final responsibility for development would, of course, rest with the Rural Areas Committee and the resident tutor would gain access to, and have responsibilities for, the work of the W.E.A. urban centres in Essex. By these means he would become the point of reference for all liberal adult education courses, irrespective of origin or provision, and be available for advice and consultation by students, centres, Branches and L.E.A. for all classes and courses. Finally, Jacques foresaw a growth leading to a county Federation of the W.E.A. which would openly recognise the indivisibility of town and country in Essex and which would place on a firm basis the development of adult education in the county and enable the resident tutor to work more effectively with, and through, the students' organisation.

From the note, it is clear that Revans was interested in the proposal, and Douglas-Smith responded favourably. At the meeting, the substance of which Jacques recorded later, Douglas-Smith spoke of the W.E.A. as the providing body in rural areas, while Hickson carefully emphasised that it was a University Rural Areas Scheme.[1] In his letter to Jacques a few days later, Douglas-Smith supported the plan which Jacques had advanced

1. Jacques in a letter to Green, 20 October, 1938.

in Saffron Walden: a crucial element of support for the proposal since its success was totally dependent on the attitude of the resident tutor.[1] It now became clear to Jacques that such an approach was virtually guaranteed in Norfolk and Essex, whereas in Bedfordshire and Northamptonshire it was unlikely to succeed, but in Cambridgeshire it was meeting with some partial success.

Thus by the end of October, 1938, the attitudes of the new tutors in Norfolk and Essex was becoming clear, even to officers of the Board, and this might have led to the Board's introduction of a completely new element in its search for a solution acceptable to both bodies, and to avoid an open breach in relationships between them.

Consideration of Alternatives

On 9 November, 1938, the Rural Areas Sub-Committee met to consider a substantive alternative proposal from the Board, presumably as Green's offer in July was unacceptable. The Board's proposal contained two new ideas for the scheme: a firm view of the committee's executive control over classes and tutors, and an attempt to demarcate geographical areas for the providing bodies. Throughout earlier discussions there had been a natural reluctance to seek precise definition of 'rural areas' as East Anglia had few large towns and even fewer recognisable industrial zones which to a small extent could be identified in Northamptonshire and South Bedfordshire. In such zones the District had established an early presence; indeed some centres were in existence prior to 1913,[2] and as a result was at its greatest strength in student enrolments, number of W.E.A. members and existing Branches. Since those early beginnings, increased car-ownership , improved public transport and the attraction of

1. Letter from Douglas Smith to Jacques
2. See Chapter 2.

many of its courses to salaried rather than wage-earning students had led to the growth of well-supported Branches. Further, improved transport had led to the growth of a commuter population beyond the towns which was beginning to alter the traditional social structure of some villages within a few miles of large urban centres. This better-off and more leisured element in rural areas could not be ignored by the W.E.A. generally, or the District, and they were increasingly influential and important to growth of the District's work during the nineteen thirties. Thus arguments about the definition of rural areas were becoming more difficult since the very nature of understanding the term was undergoing slow but perceptible change. In East Anglia there were, of course, large tracts in Essex and Norfolk which were remote; outlying and untouched by any major encroachment of migrants and public transport. They remained impracticable for adult education and large scale development on demographic, social, and communications criteria.

However, by late autumn, 1938, and possibly as a result of the unforeseen attitudes of the new resident tutors in Essex and Norfolk, ideas about the wisdom of some form of demarcation became attractive to the Board in an attempt to ensure some degree of exclusive, undisputed territory for development. The alternative proposal by the Board in November, 1938, reflected a bid for clear cut division of responsibility and territory in rural areas defined as "centres of population less than 6,000 in the counties concerned". But the potentially rigid divisive effect implicit in the proposal would be overcome through a recognition that "it would be of advantage if Resident Tutors were kept informed of the activities of the W.E.A. in the urban districts of their respective counties".[1] It was in effect an attempt to generalise the situation which

1. Rural Areas Sub-Committee 9 November, 1938. Alternative Proposal for Rural Areas Committee Clauses No. 2 and No. 9.

had existed in Bedfordshire from 1931.

At first sight it might have been thought that this was a major concession by the Board in recognition of those areas in which the District had its major strength and to avoid any damaging competition, its sovereignty in urban areas was to be conferred in perpetuity. It was quickly recognised that not merely would the District be confined to urban areas but its dominion would be reduced through the loss of significantly important - in East Anglian terms - urban centres which served large rural areas and in which the District had established Branches during the nineteen thirties.[1] The effect of agreement to this proposal would have been to confine the W.E.A. to three urban centres: Norwich, Yarmouth and King's Lynn in Norfolk. In Essex, the effect would have confined the District to provision in Colchester, Chelmsford and Clacton with smaller centres at Halstead, Witham, Braintree and Maldon.[2] Large tracts of Norfolk and Essex would have been ceded to the Board and thus solve the problem of its new resident tutors by making them unable to organise and establish W.E.A. Branches.

Further, the policy intentions of the W.E.A. and the District to encourage, foster and provide adult education opportunities in rural areas, recognised as an essential function in the 1919 Report, would have been surrendered. Jacques, who on appointment had only experience of the W.E.A. inapredominantly rural District had been ambitious for such development and could foresee that acceptance of a constitutional embargo

1. The District on the population criterion would have withdrawn from Dereham, Diss, Wymondham, Thetford, North Walsham, Fakenham, Cromer, Downham Market, and village centres such as Wells and Cley in which the District had undertaken pioneer work, with Newlove, in the nineteen twenties and still maintained tenuous footholds into the early nineteen thirties.
2. In Essex, the District would have surrendered Saffron Walden and the whole of the undeveloped rural county of North Essex.

on rural activity was likely to lead to disastrous consequences for the Eastern District.

Table14 below summarises the proposals under which the W.E.A. would have been the Responsible Body under the Board's proposal for those areas with mo re than 6,000 population:

Table 14

County	Boroughs	U.D.C.s
Essex	7	3
Norfolk	3	-
East Suffolk	3	2
West Suffolk	2	1
	15	6

The District considered that if some demarcation were to be necessary, then it might be done on local government boundaries of boroughs, urban districts and rural districts. If adopted, with the W.E.A. being excluded only from the rural districts, then the District's position might not have been as severely restricted as at first considered. The position is summarised in Table15 below.

Table 15

County	Boroughs	U.D.C.s
Essex	8	6
Norfolk	4	10
East Suffolk	6	7
West Suffolk	2	3
	20	26

Although the District resisted the idea of any demarcation as being

wholly unrealistic and unnecessary, Jacques and the District's committee believed that if the distinction were made on local government boundaries with the Board being responsible for the county rural districts, a not unreasonable interpretation of the Board's proposal, then the District would be well-placed in the sense of its exclusive rights as Responsible Body.[1] Additionally, although Jacques was unaware of the precedent at that time, the demarcation in Bedfordshire in 1930 had been on local government boundaries in precisely this way. Further, the Board had accepted the demarcation at that time. However, if the original proposal were to be implemented, the position would be extremely serious. In the event the proposals aroused so much hostile comment, including some forthright opposition from both resident tutors, that the matter was not taken further.

Green led the opposition, but it was perhaps above all the observations of Douglas-Smith which were the most telling - certainly Jacques thought so and made copies of his statement for the information of the District's sub-committee. Douglas-Smith indicated not simply his personal commitment to the work of a resident tutor but also, and perceptively, a recognition of the social changes in Essex and the latent possibilities for the growth of W.E.A. activity in the county:

> "I am very strongly against this curious division of population at the 6,000 figure. It does not in the least correspond to any difference in the type of population. This matter affects Essex particularly, owing to the industrial type of population in so many villages and in <u>all</u> the towns, I have so far seen. Thus in the village of Takeley where I am just beginning work, less than 40% of the children in the school have parents who work on the land. It is important to realise the fact of 'dormitory' villages now so widely spread over England; from any of the Essex towns one can see, as soon as works close down, a long string of bicycles returning to villages outside.

1. Jacques' letter to Green, 29 December, 1938.

> But it is equally important to insist that the W.E.A. is effective among an agricultural population. I cannot yet speak from any intimate knowledge, but I suspect this to be especially true of the Eastern District, where, I think, there has been a tradition of independence and even Trade Union activity among agricultural workers greater than in other parts.
>
> I can best describe my first impressions of Essex by saying that everywhere I go in that county I see villages whose general type suggests to me that they would be suitable centres for the W.E.A. I feel that the population has a keener and more receptive attitude than in the West.
>
> Another point not wholly irrelevant is that I think I am discovering in Essex the existence of a middle class sympathetic to the W.E.A. outlook and generally with democratic education. (I am not thinking of class membership here, but of general local support.) Many of these people live in villages, and are of a type quite different to the still very feudal squirearchy of the West. My whole point is that the general atmosphere is more, not less, favourable to the W.E.A. than that successfully covered under the scheme with Bristol University.
>
> I should view with great consternation any attempt to exclude Resident Tutors from any towns or villages of the type of those in my own area. But, indeed, the whole general effect is to divorce Resident Tutors from the W.E.A.; the Resident Tutor would be excluded from urban areas, while on the other hand the W.E.A. would be to say the least of it extremely circumscribed in rural areas. The prospect seems to me unprecedented and highly undesirable."[1]

In his more astringent way, Hampden Jackson dealt with the realities of his appointment and functions and wrote to Jacques enclosing a draft of a letter which he proposed to send to the Secretary of the Board at an appropriate time if it proved to be necessary:

> "J.H.J. is thoroughly satisfied with the existing position, which enables him to organise classes under whatever flag he thinks most suitable for the centre concerned. As for confining his work to under 6,000 people areas, he would remind the Board that the terms of his appointment stated 'he will be expected to exercise general supervision over the work of the Board in Norfolk and in particular to assist in the

1. Douglas-Smith's comments to Jacques of 16 November, 1938, on the alternative proposals submitted to the Board on 9 November. The references to the "west" were linked to his appointment as a tutor in Wiltshire immediately prior to his appointment to Essex.

> development of Adult Education in rural areas';
> he would also remind them that the Board decided
> that his Statutory Tutorial Class should be in
> Norwich."[1]

Thus both tutors were explicitly opposed to the policy being pursued by the Board, and Hampden Jackson prepared to challenge any attempt to restrict his activities which might be in conflict with his own preferred interpretation of the conditions of appointment. In the event, Hampden Jackson did not send his draft letter to the Board.

With the support of both resident tutors, although unknown to the Board at that time, Jacques, the District and, of course, Green with whom Jacques maintained a close liaison, were in no mood to compromise on the population criterion and the proposed clause was eventually excised by mutual agreement between both bodies.

An equally intransigent line was adopted over the Board's proposal in connection with the appointment of tutors and approval of syllabuses. The District had during the period following the 1918 war increasingly provided classes and appointed its own tutors in response to requests from Student Groups and Branches. The original attitude of merely organising the demand side, a major undertaking in itself in the earlier years of growth of the W.E.A., had gradually been met only through Districts also becoming involved in arrangements to meet the demand through the provision of its own courses. By the early nineteen thirties it was seen as an integral part of the role of a Responsible Body to control approval of syllabuses and the supply of tutors - the latter calling for judgment not simply about scholarship and erudition but also, and crucially so for W.E.A. classes, the effectiveness of tutors in taking classes of

1. Hampden Jackson's comments to Jacques of 11 November on the same set of proposals.

adults many of whom had not received any formal education beyond elementary school.

On this matter, and as considered later in this chapter, the District, supported by Green, were resolute, and at the meeting of the Board's sub-committee in November, 1938, formal positions were adopted with neither side showing any signs of agreement or inclination to concede on any of the major points of disagreement of which the definition of rural areas and the control of syllabuses and tutors were the most important.

Nevertheless, and although refusing to approve the alternative proposals, the W.E.A., through Green, wished to continue to search for some measure of agreement through negotiation leading to a mutually acceptable compromise, provided it would not undermine further the Association's right to undertake Chapter III work in the rest of the Eastern District.[1] The lesson of Bedfordshire and the difficulties in rural Cambridgeshire had been fully absorbed. However, the Association did not take Green's advice to consult the Board of Education to establish the formal position of the Board of Extra Mural Studies and its right to conduct its own Chapter III classes in an area in which the District felt both able and willing to organise. Green's advice, based apparently on some informal contact with officials at the Board of Education, was that the Board of Extra Mural Studies should be challenged over the regulations in an effort to break the deadlocked position at Cambridge.[2] He also learned through informal enquiry from the Board of Education that the Board of Extra Mural Studies had not raised the question of its right to establish and conduct Chapter III courses which encouraged him to think

1. Green's letter to Hickson 7 December, 1938.
2. Green in letters to Jacques 28 and 29 November, 1938.

that there were some doubts held by the Board of Extra Mural Studies over the strength of its position and which underlined reasons for the Board's attempts to reach a compromise through continued negotiation with the District.[1]

With this knowledge he was also probably conscious that the Cambridge position was likely to be a precedent-setting issue. Further he was aware that Frank Salter, Secretary of the East Midlands District of the W.E.A., had written to Jacques about a meeting held in Nottingham in November, 1938, when a similar situation had arisen in the East Midlands, but which had been rejected by the national W.E.A., over a Nottingham University proposal to establish a joint committee between the university and the W.E.A. to organise and control class provision. Both Green and Shearman attended the meeting and, according to Salter, Professor Peers was annoyed that the proposal had not been approved. In Salter's words "I am now wondering how far your man is waiting for the result of our struggle" - a clear reference to G.F. Hickson.[2]

At Cambridge, various maneouvres were under way. Hickson continued to have no direct contact with Jacques, the two new resident tutors were not informed by him of developments nor invited to comment on them, a matter about which both felt keenly since they were aware of some of the current discussions through Jacques. Pateman visited the District office in Hills Road to examine an old file about the Bedfordshire scheme and applications for courses to the District during the period of his secretaryship and which led to an acrimonious exchange with Shearman. Relations between those involved were deteriorating as is clear from Shearman's letter to Pateman, a sad episode in what had been in earlier

1. Green's letter to Jacques 13 December, 1938.
2. Salter in a letter to Jacques 9 December, 1938.

years a close relationship of considerable mutual regard:

> "You and I were working together for the W.E.A. When I became technically an employee of the University, it did not affect my outlook on the work. For me the 'Rural Scheme' was always a piece of machinery for the development of our work. As it seems to me, if I had suggested making the distinctions which you are now making, you would, in those days, have thought me disloyal to the W.E.A. - which would have caused me much distress; and it did cause me distress when I was told you had said what seemed to me to amount to such an accusation.
>
> I am afraid a tangle of misunderstandings had arisen in the Eastern District, but I hoped to keep clear of them. When the changes were made, my own confidence was that, with you in charge on the university side, the position of the W.E.A. would have been assured. But it seems that other influences have been too strong. I hope the shadows will soon pass; but in my case, don't let them fall backwards on to those (for me) happy years when you and I worked together and the only grit was in an occasional wheel on the outskirts of the District!"[1]

As noted elsewhere,[2] it had been Shearman's powerful advocacy which in late 1934 had been instrumental in securing the appointment for Pateman at the Board and Shearman later confirmed[3] that this episode had been a matter of considerable regret, particularly as it appeared that Pateman had been seeking to undermine and supplant the W.E.A. in the Eastern District as the major provider of adult education for working people of his own social class. Sadly, it must be recorded that other indications appear to confirm the complete change of loyalties from the W.E.A. to the University which Pateman underwent within a relatively short time.[4]

Compromise: Possibilities and Attainment

The desire to find an acceptable and realisable compromise was not entirely one-sided and the Board's Secretary met Green in an attempt to

1. Letter from Shearman to Pateman 19 December, 1938.
2. Chapter 6.
3. Conversation Shearman-Williams September, 1976.
4. Notes from Hampden Jackson to Jacques late 1938 - early 1939.

establish precisely the reasons for objections to the alternative proposals of November. On learning that in addition to the earlier suggestions that there were fundamental objections to the principle of the W.E.A.'s refusal to surrender any further Chapter III providing powers, or to consider any arrangement which would place the W.E.A. in direct competition with the Extra Mural Board over provision, Hickson offered to withdraw the question of the Board's arrogation of Chapter III powers until other, more manageable, objections had been resolved such as the appointment of tutors and approval of syllabuses for classes. Green saw a possible retreat on the Chapter III issue and agreed to a fresh re-draft of the proposals for consideration at an imminent meeting of the Rural Areas Sub-committee.

Green's re-draft of the proposed constitution was sent to Jacques for comment on 23 December, 1938, indicating the speed with which he had dealt with the matter and his optimism over the Chapter III issue. The re-draft proved to be substantially acceptable to the District although there was some reservation about the fresh optimism which Green had conveyed.[1] A copy of the re-draft was also sent to Hickson in January, 1939. Professor Barker, Chairman of the Extra Mural Board, in turn put forward new proposals which he discussed informally with Green in early February. Green's optimism increased when he saw the moderate tenor of Barker's proposals, but Jacques remained sceptical and opposed to any compromise.[2]

As a result of the Barker-Green discussion, several further

1. Green's letter to Jacques 23 December, 1938.
   Letter from Jacques to Wash 12 January, 1939.
2. Green's letter to Jacques 31 January, 1939 "Barker seems to have gone a very long way to meet us, and it looks as if we ought to get a satisfactory agreement". In his reply, 2 February, 1939, Jacques said "The more one looks into it, the nastier the thing becomes". The proposals are included as Appendix 6.

amendments were agreed but to Green's chagrin, Barker subsequently informed him that a group of his "university friends" were unable to accept the mutually agreed modifications. This reference was, and is, generally accepted as a reference to the administrative staff at Stuart House.[1] Yet another set of amendments was sent by Barker to Green for consideration. Green was now in a difficult position. His optimism over the earlier draft constitution for the Rural Areas Committee and Scheme, and over which he had been confident in carrying through his own national W.E.A. Finance and General Purposes Committee, had clearly been misplaced. This set of proposed amendments, largely dealing with important administrative and procedural matters, returned to earlier difficult issues. If accepted they would have had the effect of restricting the freedom of the District to handle its own affairs both in the organisation and, more importantly, the teaching arrangements for W.E.A. classes.

As this protracted round of critical discussions and negotiations proved to be the most significant of all and were central to the controversy between the Cambridge Board and the W.E.A., not simply its Eastern District, an examination of the residual issues is considered necessary in an understanding of the fundamental differences which existed between them.

The complete text of Professor Barker's alternative proposals for the constitution of the Rural Areas Committee are given in Appendix 6 and consideration here is confined to those amendments agreed between Barker and Green, and partially with Elvin, who was present at one meeting

1. Letter from Jacques to Green 9 February, 1939. A few years later, this interpretation was confirmed in a conversation between Jacques and Professor Barker, en route to Buntingford, in 1943. Jacques in conversation with Williams August, 1978.

in February 1939. In addition, an examination of those new proposals which were raised by Barker following consultation with his "university friends" later that month is also included.

Barker and Green agreed to withdraw the attempted definition of 'Rural Areas' and the original phrase '"it being understood that the term rural areas shall signify centres of population of less than 6,000" was deleted. Thus there was an agreement on the first fundamental difficulty and there was to be no proscription on any tutor in rural areas. Although the majority of W.E.A. Branches were in urban centres, the District would be entitled as Responsible Body to arrange classes and establish Branches in any rural area or centre in response to demand: an extremely important gain in operational freedom for the W.E.A. It also had considerable significance for the Board's resident tutors who were already actively encouraging the formation of W.E.A. classes and Branches in Essex and Norfolk and allowed Baker in Cambridgeshire to continue to co-operate fully in the growth of W.E.A. provision in his area.

Reference has already been made to a difficulty which arose during the November, 1938 consideration over the question of the approval of tutors and syllabuses for W.E.A. classes. The view of the Board then and re-stated in early 1939 was that under the Rural Areas Committee Scheme, responsibility for both tutors and courses would be transferred to the new Committee. The view of the W.E.A. was that if the new Committee were to be constituted as in the case of the University Joint Tutorial Classes Committee, with equality of representation and parity of esteem, the arrangement would be entirely satisfactory. However, as the proposed Rural Areas Committee was not to be so constituted, the W.E.A. could not agree to a role which limited its activities merely to the organisation of the student demand. This was a national issue and there was little

possibility of a surrender of its traditional and hard-won freedom of providing syllabuses and tutors for classes which it approved for Chapter III work. In addition, and of particular concern for the District was the position of Jacques who ought, from the local viewpoint, to be a Joint Secretary of the Committee.

The schism over this and other matters and the modifications agreed with Green and Barker were reflected in changes in the draft constitution in an attempt to close the gap between the Board and the District. It was the basis for Green's optimism which was proved to be short-lived by the objections raised by Barker's "university friends".[1]

Earlier, Green in an attempt to find some measure of agreement had conceded that although the W.E.A. should normally and explicitly be recognised as the Responsible Body for Chapter III courses, if any class specifically wished to have a Chapter III class organised by the Extra Mural Board, there would be no objection from the W.E.A. to the arrangement and the Board under such circumstances would then become the Responsible Body. In practice, this had been the pattern in Bedfordshire which Shearman had developed some years earlier. As the Board's first resident tutor, he had organised both types of classes according to his assessment of needs and expressed wishes of adult classes.

In the draft constitution, Section 8, the reference to a class was broadened in the revision to include "groups of students". Green and Barker had agreed that the original intention had been to regard the class as the basic unit, a central tenet of the W.E.A.'s own constitution. The broadening was considered as a threat to the District, especially in

1. See Appendix 6 Section 8.

Bedfordshire, as it was seen as conferring an advantage to extra-mural Student Groups. Green reminded Barker of their agreement that "should any particular class so desire, the Board, acting through the Rural Areas Committee, shall be the Responsible Body for such classes."[1]

The change was of considerably greater significance than a drafting nicety. For Green, the entity of the class was essential and reference to groups could be interpreted as a minority of disgruntled students within a class. If there had to be contracting-out of a normally accepted W.E.A. responsibility for Chapter III classes it should always be on a decision taken by the whole class. But it was suspected that the real intention underlying this modification was related to the post-Shearman period in Bedfordshire. His successor, Plaskitt, had endeavoured from early 1936 to create Extra-Mural Groups or Societies in the county as an alternative organisation to the existing W.E.A. Federation. It would appear that he had little real sympathy with the kind of students for whom the W.E.A. proved to be attractive. As the university's resident tutor, Plaskitt sought to promote extension classes and appears not to have made much use of the county federation in the organisation and promotion of W.E.A. classes. He appears to have been more concerned with the growth of the university's programme of courses rather than the extension of adult education in the county. It is not entirely clear the extent of the support, tacit or explicit, given him in these efforts by the Board to enlarge its presence in the county but Jacques believed he was pursuing the policy of its Secretary. The implication for the District was that for whatever reasons, either to protect the Plaskitt approach or generalise it in other counties, Jacques and others saw the inclusion of the phrase "groups of students" as a direct reference to

1. Green's letter to Professor Barker, 8 February, 1939.

the maintenance and support of the developing position in Bedfordshire, about which they were alarmed. Thus Green was pressed to seek a return to the original wording of "class".[1] However, Barker insisted that, although he had agreed the deletion of the phrase with Green, it should be restored to the draft.

Coincidentally, during the first week in February, 1939, when the revised constitution was under scrutiny, C.G.A. Watts, Secretary of the Bedfordshire Federation of the W.E.A., wrote a bitterly critical letter about Plaskitt's attitude and methods.[2] Apparently, Plaskitt had written earlier to Watts conveying "a very gloomy picture of adult education in this county. It is almost a cry of despair."[3] Plaskitt had also referred to the position as "things are desperate" in the county. Of interest is Plaskitt's reference to 'adult education' which appears to have contrasted sharply with his view of it as university extra-mural adult education. The number of classes in Bedfordshire declined from thirty five in 1937-38 to twenty five in the following year at a time when those in other counties were increasing, and the number of students during these two years fell by almost one third. Although Watts had visited several classes and had called for a quickening of the W.E.A. spirit, it appears that the tutor did not share his attitude and saw his own role as an organiser and provider of courses. He turned his attention to other voluntary organisations for support, principally the W.I.s, county council employees and the Scouts.

Watts freely acknowledged the accuracy of the description but

1. Jacques in a letter to Green 9 February, 1939 and Douglas-Smith to Jacques on 18 February, 1939, made the same point specifically in connection with Plaskitt.
2. Watts letter to Jacques 1 February, 1939.
3. Ibid.

attributed the decline almost entirely to the way in which Plaskitt had undertaken his work. Firstly, he appears not to have used the existing network of Branches, members and classes which the Federation offered as nuclei for growth. Watts referred to the success of earlier years as Shearman (the tutor) and Wash (the Chairman) working in harness in a common purpose. Inevitably, some older students had dropped-out and new students had not matched the loss, leading to a consequent reduction in grants earned on classes and, of course, with declining enrolments a loss of momentum, enthusiasm and energy merely served to accelerate a downward trend. All these led to a loosening of the relationships which the W.E.A., especially in Bedfordshire, had earlier encouraged and fostered among members within the Federation. To Watts, the classes appeared lifeless and the formation of Extra Mural Groups was intended to undermine and reduce W.E.A. responsibility and involvement in the county:

> "One class recently I proposed to visit, but was warned off as only one member was likely to be interested in a workers movement, all the others were retired from professions and it was thought I (a gardener) might offend them. One must ask whether the University is aware that such a thing is possible, or do they know that such contacts are sought in order that a class should appear without any justification. Or do they admit that the Rural Scheme is simply a rate-paid organisation to amuse well educated people in their years of retirement."[1]

Secondly, and a severe criticism of the tutor is implicit in the impression, conveyed by Watts, of the attitude towards working people for which the W.E.A. claimed special responsibility, with some justification during Shearman's period, and which was being rapidly changed:

> "Loss of prestige is bound to follow facetiousness and had (he) studied a consistent form of approach to domestic and manual workers, the best of people would have been attracted. But the foundations of a village class must be the rank and file villagers. He will want to know what is intended for him and I should urge the method of starting by the W.E.A. - as one student to another. The keynote must be desire and that will come with the conviction that the tutor is one of us.

1. Ibid.

> It seems appalling that tutors are giving lectures who don't even know of the W.E.A. This was not so a few years ago, and I could give the names of tutors who have inspired their classes, but there is very little of that now. One student remarked to me a short time ago that now tutors only come to augment their income. Another said he did not want a Whitakers Almanac Tutor, he could read that himself. Perhaps to ignore the W.E.A. and to speak of 'under the auspices of the Board' and to quibble with the village reporter about Extra Mural Classes as against Caldecote W.E.A. Group does not seem wrong on the face of it. But the countryman is just as cute to detect the snob as the liar. In village life the snob always gets what he deserves."[1]

Although written with an unquestioned partisan commitment to the W.E.A., the letter reflected some of the fundamental weaknesses of university extra mural adult education which had led to dissatisfaction in the late nineteenth century and which had prompted Mansbridge to write the historic articles in the 'University Extension Journal'[2] and which had been crucial in the formation of the W.E.A. and the growth of the University Tutorial Class. For the District and Green the issues continued to be central tenets of belief and commitment and the raison d'etre for the opposition to much of the intentions of the Rural Areas Scheme which had assumed characteristics of the university extension approach.

Thirdly, Watts refuted any suggestion that the Federation had been either unco-operative or inert:

> "it has been said that the Federation has not done anything to try to form classes. The facts are the reverse, but it is true that since Mr. Plaskitt has been Resident Tutor no opportunity has been given to me to work as Wash did. It has also come to my notice that employees of the Extra Mural Board have blamed the Federation for inactivity and inefficiency. Surely one can expect a better moral tone from those who are paid to serve a body created for a moral purpose.

1. Ibid.
2. See Chapter 1.

> Given the chance, the Federation can function as before, and those responsible for the present state in Bedfordshire should examine their methods with the same zeal as they seek excuses."[1]

It is clear that this letter, which was a remarkably congent statement of the position in the county, perceptively and concisely summarised a sense of deep unease about the existing as well as planned expansion of the Board, through the proposed Rural Areas Scheme, in the rural counties of the District's region. While recognising the preference for the heady days of early development in Bedfordshire, there was a clear recognition of the need for that close contact and alignment between resident tutor and the Federation which was essential to success in the voluntaryism of the W.E.A. as a social movement. The reference to the links between Shearman and Wash is especially important as they had worked in harmony to create student groups, about 20 in number, and had established the Federation in the county.

> "They were in the habit of working together, Shearman as the organiser, Wash as the inspirer. I think it quite true to say that no class was started without their joint action. Wash was a man of the people and Shearman knew how to use such a man."[2]

This contribution from Watts was both timely and of considerable significance as Bedfordshire was the only county in which the pattern of the proposed Rural Areas Scheme had been partially developed. The unhappy experience of Watts vividly illustrated the failure to secure active, co-operative endeavour between the partners. Its disclosure within the group of W.E.A. members involved in the delicate and protracted negotiations with the Board served to heighten fears about the future implications of the Rural Areas Scheme and confirmed the worst fears of the District and its officers. Although it was clear that neither

1. Watts letter to Jacques 1 February, 1939.
2. Ibid.

Hampden Jackson nor Douglas-Smith were in the Plaskitt mould, it was recognised that the proposed constitutional arrangements were susceptible to an interpretation and use by a different attitude on the part of any resident tutor. This vulnerability, since the Board was responsible for appointments, made even more resolute the District's determination to ensure that its constitutional position in the proposed scheme should be safeguarded. The potential difficulties carried the serious implication that to overlook and to concede any principle could lead to resident tutors appointed by the University choosing not to work co-operatively with W.E.A. Branches and classes. If this were to occur, such behaviour would be seen within a framework of constitutional legitimacy which, having been accepted by the Association, would then be powerless to oppose the use of the freedom by resident tutors who chose to act in such a way.

Jacques sent Green a copy of the letter from Watts urging him to use it fully in discussions with Barker "to shew Barker that his child is ailing and that seriously."[1] It was therefore important that the W.E.A.'s objections to the revised draft were seen not merely as quibbles of textual minutiae, but as fundamental to the ways in which the scheme might, and should, operate. Thus, both the importance of control by the District of the approval of tutors, syllabuses and courses and also the wish to establish without ambiguity that it was the class which had to contract-out of Chapter III provision normally provided within the responsibility of the W.E.A. were fundamental to the District's argument over the constitution.

For example, in section 8(a) of the original draft of the constitution

1. Jacques letter to Green 2 February, 1939.

it was suggested that the Board of Education registration forms containing class details should be sent by the Extra Mural Board to resident tutors who would, after completion by the class secretary, return them in the first instance to the Board of Extra Mural Studies for recording and in due course forwarded to the District Secretary, who would then submit the forms to the Board of Education. This was absurdly complicated and prompted the serious objection by Green that as the District was the Responsible Body for Chapter III classes, the District Secretary could be the only person to issue to resident tutors the necessary forms, handle all their subsequent administration and then inform the Rural Areas Committee. Further, this would only be necessary in connection with newly established centres. In the case of existing centres, Branches or Student Groups the District Secretary would always communicate with these directly over Chapter III classes. Again, an apparent quibble over routine procedures masked the real issue of the District's inalienable right, under its Chapter III powers, to deal directly with the classes and, of course, to exercise its complete authority to appoint tutors and approve syllabuses.

The unaltered draft constitution would have required the surrender of this authority to the Rural Areas Committee, which effectively meant the Board of Extra Mural Studies and its officers at Stuart House. If it had been sustained, it would have led to the position whereby each body would have merely recommended suitable tutors for appropriate classes when syllabuses were approved by the new committee.[1] Thus a joint panel of tutors would have been compiled whose services would be engaged as and when required and the District having only limited control over the appointment of tutors would have put at risk the principle of a class choosing its own tutor. While it was unlikely that any division over qualifications would arise, the vital factor of the quality and suitability

1. See Appendix 6 Clause 8(c).

of a tutor for adult classes containing some students who had not proceeded beyond elementary school, was more problematical.

The issue of responsibility for approval of syllabuses of classes was one the District as Responsible Body was not prepared to remit to the Rural Areas Committee. The difficulty was eventually resolved between Barker and Green by an agreement, similar to the one over the tutors, in that each body on the Rural Areas Committee would submit for information its own approved panel of tutors and syllabuses of all classes arranged.

Although arguments about both principles rumbled on for some months it was eventually agreed that the independent approach of each body over panels of tutors and approval of syllabuses was the only way forward and the contribution of Watts and the activities of Plaskitt indicated that as far as the District's Chapter III class arrangements were concerned the position was not likely to be worse than that resulting from the maladroit handling of the presumed co-operation in Bedfordshire. From a position of plaintiff, the District was in a powerful position over the revealed weakness of the Board's position in that county. Since there was little evidence to suggest otherwise, it was not possible for the Board members to sustain a case for any further modification of proposals of operation in the field, particularly in the face of the active support for the W.E.A. by its two new tutors in Essex and Norfolk.

One final point of importance in relation to the procedural matters for classes, which further indicated the inexperience of the Board and its officers in their anxiety to take control of the development, lay in the impracticable mechanism of approval for the programme of courses and acceptance of financial responsibility. In the draft constitution it was proposed that formal approval to the class programme should be given

at the summer meetings of the Rural Areas Committee prior to the start of the session in the autumn of each year.[1] The general impracticability, bearing in mind the specific problems of arranging pioneer courses, of firm approval being given before the main work of the advertising, exhortation and face to face contact, invariably undertaken at the end of the summer and early September, showed a degree of ignorance and naivety which was remarkable, especially with a man of Pateman's experience in the District available at the Board for consultation over the draft. The position of the resident tutors would be one of considerable uncertainty if they were confined only to a list of classes and courses approved by the Committee in June or July each year and they would be unable to respond to spontaneous interest and provide financial support at the time when it would be required to build on an enthusiasm which might be extinguished, never to be re-kindled, if not nurtured immediately. While the idea of forward planning had merit from the position of financial budgeting it missed totally the nub of the matter, in that in the rural areas scheme the ability to respond immediately to the unplanned, unforeseen emergence of new opportunities was likely to be the crux of success or failure.

Linked with this issue was yet another insensitive suggestion that, as the Rural Areas Committee would be financially responsible for the classes, it would receive all fees and grants earned on the Chapter III classes which had been arranged by the District.[2] The effect of agreement to this proposal would have seriously reduced the District's financial position through the loss of income from an important and assumed major growth point of its activities. Further, the needs of the Rural Areas Committee were not as great as the District's because it would be

1. Draft Constitution Clause 6: Appendix 6.
2. Ibid. Clauses 3 and 8(b).and 9.

in receipt of grants from the participating L.E.A.s and charitable Trusts. If it were to be in control of all funds the committee would be in a dominant position to control, through finance, much of the work of the District in rural areas - promoting some activities and restraining others through the use of funding approvals. As in the other instances referred to under this section, the District, largely through the advocacy of Green, successfully modified the original draft in early 1939 in a manner and to a degree which preserved its position as an independent force in adult education and as Responsible Body for Chapter III classes in rural areas.

The Resident Tutors and the Rural Areas Scheme

The position of resident tutors under the proposals for the Scheme was intended to be more circumscribed than the largely ad hoc arrangements which existed when they were appointed. As noted earlier neither of the two new tutors was kept informed of developments, nor sent drafts of the constitution by their employers. Further, the Board did not consult them or seek their views, nor as far as can be ascertained from papers consulted, was this done in the cases of Baker, Plaskitt or Lee. It appears to have been a curious attitude, since a number of clauses in the drafts referred specifically to the duties of resident tutors and proposed major changes.[1] Jacques of course sent copies to Hampden Jackson and Douglas-Smith, but there is no record of similar action in connection with the other three university resident tutors. The upshot of all this activity was that as far as Hampden Jackson and Douglas-Smith were concerned they viewed all the Board's proposals with misgiving or distrust or a combination of both emotions. Not unnaturally, it strengthened their personal bond with Jacques and underpinned their existing allegiance to

1. Draft Constitution Clauses 4,5,6,8(a),10.

cause of adult education provided through the agency of the W.E.A. Nevertheless, it should not be assumed that either was antipathetic to co-operation with the Board's scheme. They sought, and wished to sustain, the freedom which other resident tutors had in determining which kind of course was appropriate for particular groups or Branches. Douglas-Smith, drawing on his experience in the West of England, believed it was entirely the tutor's responsibility to arrange programmes of classes and Hampden Jackson thought that "often we have started courses within five days of the pioneer lecture. Delay would let interest aroused by pioneer meetings to evaporate."[1]

Thus the proposal in the draft constitution for early summer approval to the autumn programme of classes might never have been proposed if the resident tutors had been consulted and, by its omission, might have eased some of the tension and dissension between the Board and the District.

Both Hampden Jackson and Douglas-Smith were "thoroughly satisfied with the existing position" which enabled them to organise classes under whichever Body they deemed most appropriate for the centre concerned.[2] Their record in Norfolk and Essex, respectively, demonstrated that 'most appropriate' was almost certainly to be the W.E.A. rather than the Extra Mural Board, a position of which the Board became increasingly aware and which probably influenced those sections in the draft constitution which referred to the duties and roles of resident tutors foreseen under the Rural Areas Scheme. Hampden Jackson averred that he could not imagine "why any groups should vote for the Rural Areas Scheme which nobody had heard of and I won't give any guarantee to encourage such option."[3]

1. Hampden Jackson's letter to Jacques, 11 November, 1939.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.

Although there is no documentary evidence which directly explains the reasons for the two new tutors being so opposed to the proposals of the Extra Mural Board, an impression is gained, by inference, from the tone of many letters from them to Jacques that they were genuinely out of sympathy with the people in Stuart House, by whom they were deliberately kept in ignorance of developments, being treated as underlings. Clearly they therefore believed that the plans and proposals were not so much about the dissemination and development of adult education but more about aggrandisement of the Board position, thus developing in them a deep mistrust and suspicion about its professed concern with the growth of an adult education commitment in rural areas which, it seemed could only be undertaken through the supplanting of the District's own activities. Thus an undated personal note from Hampden Jackson to Jacques, penned in November, 1938

> "If there's one nasty place in this movement it must be Cambridge and the necessity (it is one!) of being amiable to those blighters while they are undermining you. Every time I go to Cambridge I come back depressed as hell; then as soon as I am back to a Norfolk class spirits soar again."

Although there is no documentary evidence that he ever did threaten to resign, Douglas-Smith claimed that Hampden Jackson was so opposed to the Board's proposals over the Rural Areas Scheme that he had seriously considered the possibility.[1] Such a possible course of action undoubtedly caused Jacques very considerable concern. He knew that a resignation would have been welcomed at the Board and that it was certain that a new resident tutor would not be permitted to align himself as closely as Hampden Jackson with the W.E.A. position. However, in the event Hampden Jackson decided not to offer his resignation.

Edmund Poole, the tutor organiser of the W.E.A. in Norwich and Norfolk,

1. Douglas-Smith in a letter to Jacques, 18 February, 1939.

worked in harness with Hampden Jackson and also emphasised the central importance of the resident tutor being autonomous in making judgements about types of courses for classes. He had a self-confessed aversion to committees and their remote control functions. In his view, the ways in which both tutors in Norfolk worked was ideal:

> "The development is in the hands of a Resident Tutor in whose discretion the W.E.A. had complete confidence. It says little for the Extra Mural Board that they (whose officer he is) cannot have the same confidence in his ability to look to the interests of his employers."[1]

With these attitudes shared by the resident tutors in Essex and Norfolk, and from conversations with Jacques, it is not surprising that the Board's officers were averse to any consultation with their resident tutors about the proposals: to have done so would have risked serious embarrassment in receiving explicit views which differed so widely from their own which were in opposition solely on educational grounds, and which would largely echo the views of the District and those of the General Secretary of the W.E.A.

The effects of the appointment of Jacques, evident in the activities in Norfolk and Essex up to 1938, and those following the appointment of resident tutors for the sessions 1938-40 are summarised in the Table below

Table 16

	1935-36	1936-37	1937-38	1938-39	1939-40
Norfolk					
Chapter III Classes	1	6	5	20	35
Students	25	139	87	408	849
Essex					
Chapter III Classes	3	5	6	12	19
Students	109	126	158	230	420

1. Edmund Poole's letter to Jacques, 15 November, 1938.

In Norfolk an excellent rapport developed between Hampden Jackson and Poole. In the first academic year, working in harness for development, nine new centres were established in the county, of which five were W.E.A. Branches and in April, 1939, the Norfolk County W.E.A. Federation was created to provide cohesion and unity between the scattered clusters of W.E.A. students.[1] That this development was considered especially important in Norfolk to pre-empt the Board's intentions and match the delaying tactics of Jacques is evident in the correspondence between him and Hampden Jackson. For example, in December, 1938, Hampden Jackson wrote

> "I don't want any personal rift with Stuart House until late January at earliest (sic) when I can present a fait accompli of half a dozen W.E.A. Branches (or hope to!)".

The importance for both Jacques and Hampden Jackson in establishing a genuine working class movement was reflected in the strenuous efforts made in the county by both men and Poole and were rewarded when an analysis was made of the occupations of students enrolled in classes during the 1938-39 academic session. This indicated that 34% were manual workers, of whom 12% were agricultural employees. In the non-manual groups, 37% were drawn from office workers and shop assistants, 14% were teachers and the other 15% largely housewives. With some 71% of all enrolled students from recognisably working class occupational, and presumably social, backgrounds there was considerable satisfaction at District level both with the quantitative and qualitative advance. In Norwich, although the Co-operative Society had supported new initiatives, Poole achieved little progress with the nine or ten of the largest trade union branches in the city. However, Poole gained the support of the well-established Norfolk Rural Music School and the W.I.s.

1. These were at East Dereham, Hingham, Swaffham, Walsingham and Wymondham and the Student Groups were at Hockwold, Mattishall, Sheringham, and a revival at Wells.

In Essex, Douglas-Smith's endeavours led to the formation of three new Branches in 1938-39, and to the establishment of an Essex County W.E.A. Federation. The pattern of W.E.A. growth was again directly related to the problems which arose from the Board's policy vis a vis its intentions for the development of its own Chapter III courses in both counties.[1]

Compromise Agreement Achieved

As a result of discussions, a period of reflection on the practicability of the proposals and the dangers of a completely deadlocked position, the Board of Extra Mural Studies produced yet another set of draft proposals which were considered in late February, 1939. As a result of the strenuous efforts made by the principals, mainly Barker, Green and Elvin, the meeting was successful in that agreement was reached on the major points of the constitution and terms of reference, with most of the details about machinery and administration being remitted for discussion among the officers.

Some important issues remained. Green went to some length in praise of Barker's efforts to reach agreement but believed that some difficult issues remained unresolved.[2] One concern requiring attention was the proposal to hand over student fees received by the District to the Rural Areas Committee. The Association could not agree but in a spirit of

1. In Essex, the three Branches were at Dunmow, Maldon and Witham.
2. Pateman's manuscript notes of the meeting. Jacques also wrote to Hampden Jackson and Douglas-Smith a few days after the meeting in a similar vein: "There was evident a very strong determination on the part of Prof. Barker to remove all obstacles likely to prevent agreement being reached and, in the course of a subsequent conversation with Elvin, he said that he had recently come to the conclusion that it was of primary importance that the W.E.A. should have the full assistance of the Extra Mural Board in all its work throughout the whole of this District." Letters dated 27 February, 1939.

conciliation Green suggested the matter might be referred to the officers rather than that the acceptance of the principles of the agreement should be opposed. The difficulty over the definition of a rural area was also similarly referred.

Agreement was reached on the question of L.E.A. representation. As noted earlier this had been a difficult and contentious matter in 1938 since the proposal to reduce representation coincided with requests for increased financial aid from L.E.A.s. Nevertheless, it was agreed that the L.E.A. membership should be reduced from three representatives to one with an officer of each Authority being permitted to attend in advisory, non-voting capacity. Another difficulty, over which some lateral progress was made, was on the question of approval of syllabuses, tutors and the constitutional position of Jacques - all of which were bound up with parity of status of the District with the Board. The last of these was not conceded, but the day after the meeting Hickson wrote to Jacques suggesting the way was now open for "eventual approval" on some of these points and to let him know that he would be "invited to attend meetings of the Board in a non-voting capacity until such time as he might be nominated as a member of the Board."[1] Clearly, the implication was simply that the question of Joint Secretaryship of the Rural Areas Committee was not likely to be given serious consideration. Nevertheless, the invitation to attend meetings of the Board was an important concession to the District and personally to Jacques who had been excluded from attending meetings of the Board since 1935, unlike his predecessor who had attended in his capacity as District Secretary. Jacques replied that

> "some of my colleagues will regard this gesture on the part of the Board with the pleasure that will make for whole-hearted co-operation on their part."[2]

1. Hickson in a letter to Jacques 25 February, 1939 and annexe to February's draft constitution.
2. Jacques in a letter to Hickson 27 February, 1939.

The District, but perhaps even more significantly the national Association, had achieved much of considerable importance through the serial concessions which were now being made. The place of the W.E.A. in liberal adult education as the Responsible Body for Chapter III courses in East Anglia had been secured and it is possible to hypothesise that if its position had been surrendered to the Cambridge Board, the situation in other parts of the country might have tilted the adult education partnership decisively towards university control in conjunction with L.E.A.s. The danger inherent in the Cambridge disagrements does at least provide an explanation for Green's determination and tenacity to sustain the W.E.A. case as a major action rather than as a local skirmish over control of Chapter III courses. Green was to say later

> "that after paying at least a dozen visits to Cambridge, and engaging in the most unpleasant negotiations I have ever had in my life, we have managed to retain recognition as a body which is normally recognised for Chapter III powers and obtained an agreement which the University people hate like poison."[1]

The reference here to the University is almost certainly exclusive to Cambridge, but it is probable that Green had in mind the wider context: a matter which must be left to further research on other Districts.

In the difficult, protracted and time-consuming commitment to the Eastern District cause, Green was assisted throughout by Lionel Elvin who had direct and informal access to Professor Barker, and, of course, the invaluable and crucial role of Jacques not only in establishing and maintaining close, personal relations with Hampden Jackson and Douglas Smith, but also in the favourable impression he created with senior education officers in Essex, Hertfordshire, and Norfolk in 1937 and 1938, which led not merely to increased L.E.A. grants for the work of the District but an appreciative understanding of his sense of commitment and endeavour

1. Green in a letter to Jacques, 13 March, 1939.

to the cause of working class education. He even contrived to persuade Henry Morris to take a less hostile view of the District's activities and appears to have managed at least to contain the ire of H.E. Baines in Bedfordshire.[1]

Even so, much remained to be settled in detail and it was no mere formality at the District's executive committee meeting convened in early March to consider the draft constitution. The committee insisted that no concession could be made on the question of L.E.A. representation or the issue of parity of District membership. Further, under no circumstances would the District surrender its authority to approve syllabuses for W.E.A. courses. They expressed a clear disinclination to see the term "rural area" closely defined not only because of the consequent danger of limitation on action and its potential for demarcation disputes, but also on account of their desire to continue the co-operation already existing between the District and Board's resident tutors in the formation of W.E.A. Branches, provision of weekend schools and other classes. Finally, they also insisted that Jacques should become Joint Secretary of the Rural Areas Committee. The mili tancy of the District Executive was not entirely welcomed by Green and the matter was further complicated when Jacques, presumably on instruction from the committee, incorporated their insistence and proposed amendments in a letter to Hickson, with copies to all members of his executive committee.[2]

Green's displeasure was considerable. Having achieved a series of major concessions from the Board, thereby reaching, at last, an entirely satisfactory constitutional position in securing the principle of equal partnership with the University and the L.E.A.s in the rural areas scheme

1. See p.599.
2. Jacques to Hickson, 9 March, 1939.

for the District, and which had been the most serious substantive issue, he could now foresee much being lost through misjudgement by the District Executive committee which could lead them all into a mire of relatively unimportant, but intransigent, issues over adjustments to the modified constitution, administrative machinery, questions of status and drafting minutiae. If this were to develop into a local cause celebre the wider implications might again be raised and Green had no desire to return to the conference table to put at risk the major gains already achieved.

Green peremptorily dealt with the Executive Committee's inflexibility. He reminded them that in October, 1931, they had argued

> "that it would be unwise to oppose the suggestion of Mr. Hickson in regard to the Board doing Chapter III work. That is eight years ago, and the Board would now be doing Chapter III work, both in Essex and Norfolk, had I not made myself damned unpleasant at the meeting where Hickson reported on the visit which he had paid to the Directors of Education of the two Counties. It was from that meeting that the sub-committee was set up as a result of my protest."[1]

This was clearly a reminder to Wash of his earlier attitude, because Jacques had told Green that Wash had been particularly difficult over some of the points of agreement at the meeting.[2] The attitude of the Executive Committee according to Jacques was "My Chairman and one or two other people regard it (i.e. the draft constitution) as something approaching disaster" but also

> "My general impression of our District Executive Committee is that they are not conscious of the very substantial gain which this scheme represents over that we were first discussing."[3]

Green, in magisterial mood, felt it necessary to remind Jacques, and the Executive Committee, since he had not argued or suggested any

1. Green to Jacques, 13 March, 1939.
2. Jacques to Green, 8 March, 1939.
3. Ibid. The District Chairman was A.C. Allen.

point without prior consultation with the District, that it was "one of the clearly defined practices where colleagues negotiate together is that they sink or swim by the results."[1] His advice was simply that the District would not be wise at that stage to put forward any amendments until other parties to the February agreement had indicated their approval. The District Executive relented and did not press their points. Jacques hastened to pacify Green and re-assure him that if there had been any failure on the part of the District Committee to recognise the measure of the substantial achievement, the fault lay with Jacques who would make it transparently clear at the earliest opportunity that "the W.E.A. had been saved from disaster, and that this agreement represented, in fact, the charter which gives us continued and autonomous existence."[2] Nevertheless, Jacques took some comfort from the "incipient revolt in the District Executive" interpreting it as a late flowering of a consciousness that it was necessary to "be active in fighting for and guarding those things which the W.E.A. stands for and for which the W.E.A. alone can provide."[3]

Somewhat mollified by Jacques' acknowledgement of the errors of his Executive Committee and his own clear appreciation of the achievement reflected in the draft constitution, Green confessed that it was necessary

> "to hold the candle to the devil in the hope that some day the position of the Movement may be so strong that no such thing as concessions would ever be dreamed of. That is what I think is likely to happen in the Eastern District, if one can feel as confident in all the tutors as in Hampden Jackson and Douglas Smith."[4]

Green's attitude, revealed in this letter indicates the then indebtedness of the District to this man: a skilled, determined, able negotiator who had the capacity to pursue arguments to an acceptable limit without recourse to the policy

1. Green to Jacques, 13 March, 1939.
2. Jacques to Green, 16 March, 1939.
3. Ibid.
4. Green to Jacques, 17 March, 1939.

of the ultimatum. Possibly only he in the W.E.A. at that time could have achieved such a satisfactory position and certainly the District Committee, both on their earlier record and the way in which they re-acted to the new draft constitution, would have been unlikely to have succeeded. Green's longer-term strategy was subsequently justified in that the District, under the same Secretary as guardian of its constitutional position under subsequent radical changes in the Regulations, has been able to move forward to a position of complete autonomy and strength in the provision of liberal adult education as a voluntary movement in East Anglia. The long service of Hampden Jackson as University Tutor in Norfolk contributed more than any other single person to the pre-eminent position of that county in the affairs and activities of the Eastern District up to the present time.[1]

Following the resolution of the problems raised by the District Executive Committee, Jacques met Hickson in April, 1939 and reached a wide measure of agreement on the detailed points remitted to them. Potentially difficult issues such as transfer of W.E.A. class fees from Chapter III activities in rural areas to the Board, the question of equal tri-partite representation on the Rural Areas Committee, and the universal principle of Committee approval to all tutors and syllabuses were easily resolved in favour of the W.E.A.'s original attitudes. Further, it was agreed that the class would be the unit of organisation and not 'extra mural groups' and there would be freedom for the class and the tutor mutually to agree and determine the syllabus to be studied. In the event of a disagreement, the Chairman of the Committee would arbitrate and if the decision went against the W.E.A. it would continue the class,

1. A view in which Frank Jacques shares without reservation: without Hampden Jackson, the District would have not flourished during the war nor in the period of rapid expansion followed by consolidation and new developments during the twenty five years after 1945.

if it so wished, on its own financial responsibility. However, Jacques and Hickson failed either to discuss or reach conclusions about the definition of 'rural areas' or the joint secretaryship of the Rural Areas Committee, which Hickson claimed was an entirely new issue, and both points were referred to the meeting of the Board in May.[1]

Apart from these residual difficulties, the revised draft constitution reflected an acceptable position for both the Board and the W.E.A. An unwelcome flurry of dissent arose from the L.E.A.s when Morris and Baines objected to the reduction in Authority representation. Morris was also uneasy that the draft constitution carried the implication that only the W.E.A. could provide adult education of the Chapter III type. His concern was a clear one: the county was developing its own, unique pattern of village colleges in which adult education of a liberal, non-vocational character was emerging as a distinctive feature of the L.E.A. provision.

Morris had foreseen the necessity of a community approach in adult education and refused to accept the special constituency of the W.E.A. as an exclusive interest. His distinction in linking the school to the community in an organic relationship which was inherent in his concept of the village college was that the W.E.A. was too limited in its appeal at a time when the real objective was to stimulate the interest of villagers in the expanding educational opportunities available in rural areas for both children and parents. His influence was to affect planning for community provision in Cumberland and Leicestershire before the war and many other L.E.A.s in the development of the community concept

1. Hickson confirmed his impression in a letter to Jacques, 5 April, 1939 Jacques own notes of the meeting are very similar.

in the post-war period. Although there is no direct reference to the Final Report 1919 in Ree's biography, Morris embodied some of its main recommendations in his planned development. Through the village college he foresaw institutions which would re-generate rural life in its cultural, recreational and economic forms through a planned institutionalised approach which would provide a framework for an indigenous foundation. In a phrase of which Mansbridge would have been proud he envisaged

> "... every local community would become an education society, and education would not merely be a consequence of good government, but good government a consequence of good education."[1]

He thus sought successfully at the April meeting of the Rural Areas Committee to broaden the recognition of responsible body under Chapter III of the Adult Education Regulations to include "Approved Associations" on the grounds that it was

> "unwise, so far as this part of England is concerned, to assume that the W.E.A. is the recognised body for the provision of adult education, in the sense that it is the only body which can make that provision."[2]

The Attitude of the L.E.A.s

As mentioned earlier the L.E.A.s were belated partners and providers in the growth of adult education in East Anglia. Further, their contribution had resulted from a series of requests from the District and the Extra Mural Board to make financial contributions under existing regulations. Nevertheless, by the mid-nineteen thirties, Local Authorities were becoming increasingly involved in provision of liberal adult education and under the stimulation of Board of Education Circular 1444 issued in

1. H. Ree op.cit. Chapter 2 passim. Morris' quotation is on p.21.
2. Verbatim note of Morris' statement at committee taken by Jacques.

1936 they were virtually required to consider how they might provide assistance in the systematic development of adult education in co-operation with Universities and Voluntary Bodies.

The active co-operation of some of the L.E.A.s in East Anglia was thus welcomed by the University and the W.E.A. not only as sources of income for class activities but also for their support in extending adult education provision. It is appropriate to record that the University appeared to have a more highly developed sense of the importance of participation by L.E.A.s than did the District - certainly this appears to have been the case until the appointment of Jacques. Even so, the L.E.A.s not surprisingly were interested in the ways in which their grants in aid were to be disbursed particularly with the introduction of the block grant pattern, rather than the grants for specific classes, which formula had been introduced in the first scheme in Bedfordshire and which was to become generalised in the other counties.

The beginnings of their own interest in making direct provision for adult education classes for a different range of participants and not relying solely on the agency methods hitherto provided by the Board and District meant that they would inevitably become more keenly aware of any competitive element between the other bodies and their own proposals. Henry Morris was clearly in this position by the mid-thirties following the establishment of four village colleges. The earlier reference to his proposed modification of the draft constitution was thus a proper one, but from the District's point of view unwelcome at such a delicate stage in the discussions and planning for adult education provision in rural areas. Further, it posed no particular threat to the provision of University courses as the L.E.A. was geared to class provision at Chapter III rather than Chapter II levels. Morris' co-operation with the District

was essential both to the autonomy of his area vis a vis the University and to the ways in which the Eastern District might be encouraged, or hindered, in seeking to become the main partner in the provision of Chapter III classes. Much depended on the L.E.A.s intention to provide classes and the proposed scale of its provision in Cambridgeshire.

The District was very conscious of its unhappy experience in Bedfordshire; the friction and suspicion between Baines and the W.E.A. which had led to a variety of difficulties in the provision of classes and the imposed geographical limitations within the county. The prospect of possible competition with the village colleges in Cambridgeshire over the provision of adult education was disturbing and a contest which the District would inevitably lose. Morris might also strengthen considerably the intervention of some members of the Board if he were to enter into an alliance with them against the District, which would then be under considerable pressure to concede a number of issues on provision, control and financial matters. Additionally, the District had no guarantee of a complete, committed support in the field. Baker, the Board's resident tutor, had observed scrupulously the informal arrangement of non-competitive provision through supporting both existing W.E.A. Branches and the Board's classes, but he did not seek actively to promote the formation of new W.E.A. Branches in the county and the Isle of Ely, which comprised his area.

For Jacques, there was no alternative but to discuss the possibilities of co-operation openly and directly with Morris. They met to examine the working of the rural areas scheme in its general intention and also to consider specifically how the W.E.A. provision and the L.E.A. programmes at the four village colleges might be co-operatively arranged. As far as Jacques is able to re-call, since there was no record of the meeting,

when they met in late May, 1939, there was complete accord that overlap and competition could, and should, be avoided within the catchment areas of the colleges. Morris went further and suggested a criterion, based on the income of students, might be considered to determine the type of course for which each body should be responsible; a suggestion which when reported to him, Green declared to be "absurd" and the negation of the W.E.A. principle of "the students having freedom of choice".[1] Nothing came of the suggestion and thereafter Morris raised no further objections at meetings of the Board to the District's major role in the proposed rural areas scheme. As with other L.E.A.s, Jacques had been an important influence in convincing Morris that the District's ambitions were for neither organisational control nor monopolistic provision and that there was every reason to hope and plan for complementary development of adult education in the county.

Jacques and Morris had met on a few occasions previously about the work of the W.E.A. and the District. In 1936, Jacques had given him a brief tutorial about the way in which the District undertook its work in Cambridgeshire and why it required increased grant-aid from the L.E.A. - at that time a mere £20. Then, the point at issue had been the apparently low fees for classes charged by the District and until Morris realised that none of the county grant was spent on administration he did not appear to favour increased financial assistance. However, the following year, the grant was increased, rooms in schools were provided without

1. Morris' suggestion for this criterion in village colleges was that if the majority of students earned less than £2 per week, the W.E.A. should provide the class, but if the majority of enrolled students earned in excess of £2 per week, the classes might be organised by the L.E.A., or the Extra Mural Department. Both Jacques and Green were resolutely opposed to a financial division which would immediately create class distinctions between courses organised by the different bodies, and there is no record of any classes being organised at village colleges on this basis. Green in a letter to Jacques, 8 June, 1939.

charge and there was a perceptible improvement in the relations between the District and the L.E.A. with the grant in aid being doubled to £40 in 1938-39 in reflection of increased class activity and to reduce the deficit with which the District was faced in its provision.[1] Nevertheless, Jacques clearly believed that Morris was not anxious to assist any organisation which might have an adverse effect on the development of the village colleges and at the meeting with Jacques in late May, 1939, Morris was explicit about his policy of appointing staff members of the village colleges to develop liberal adult education evening classes. However, Jacques re-calls that Morris was envious of Hampden Jackson's success in Norfolk in attracting farm workers as he was concerned over the apparent failure of the Cambridgeshire colleges to do likewise.

In Bedfordshire, the County Education Committee had registered its objections to the proposed rural areas scheme, notably about its representation and the ways in which future provision was to be made and had accordingly considered reducing the size of its block grant;[2] but neither the Board nor District wanted to see the scheme further modified or delayed. It was agreed by Hickson and Jacques that the pattern of earlier years should be continued while informal discussions were held with Baines to resolve local difficulties.[3] In the event this proved to be a wise decision, because for the 1939-40 session the L.E.A. resolved that it could neither recognise nor approve any class in rural areas until the scheme had been fully considered by the County Education Committee and its implications examined. In fact approval was not forthcoming until

1. The conversations took place in June, 1936, and Jacques enjoyed at least one exchange: Morris: "Tell me, when is the W.E.A. going to die as a voluntary body?"
   Jacques: "When it ceases to be a voluntary body, it is already dead!"
   Jacques in conversation with Williams, January, 1977.
2. The L.E.A. wanted tutors fees paid for Tutorial Classes reduced (Adult Education Committee, 10 March, 1939).
3. Manuscript note of agreement Jacques-Hickson, 2 August, 1939.

June, 1940, when the county adopted the scheme in principle.[1]

Problems had existed in Bedfordshire for several years. Following the very successful initiative in Bedfordshire and the appointment of Shearman as the first resident tutor, the scheme was further extended for another year by the University and the L.E.A., but all was not well with the arrangement. Firstly, Baines objected to the distribution of classes and the amount of time Shearman gave to them. In his report to the Education Committee in 1934, it will be re-called, he suspected Shearman of not fully devoting himself to the needs of the county and Baines was highly critical of the ways in which the arrangements were conducted. By 1935, Baines had shifted his criticism to the Tutorial Class arrangements in Bedfordshire and he was puzzled over their apparent listing as W.E.A. classes since the Extra Mural Board was the Responsible Body. Both Pateman and Jacques explained that the W.E.A. was responsible for the organisation of local arrangements and that fees paid to the W.E.A. were passed intact to the Board. For Chapter III classes the Board was the Responsible Body in rural areas with the W.E.A. acting in the urban areas and Baines was placated, but characteristically suspicious and watchful. His attitude persisted throughout all the negotiations for the rural areas scheme and Bedfordshire was the last of the L.E.A.s to give full approval to the proposals in 1940.

The attitude of the L.E.A.s varied widely and by 1937-38 the position may be most clearly summarised in the following table which indicates the grants to classes organised by the District and which exclude

1. The county's Adult Education Sub-Committee, 21 June, 1939, accepted the new Rural Areas Scheme and the reduction in representation, but reduced its grant aid to £100 a year for classes and lectures in rural areas in recognition that it would no longer have the services of a full time resident tutor. Bedfordshire County Council Records Department.

those sums of money contributed towards the salaries of university resident tutors, where appointed:

Table 17

County	1937-38 £	1938-39 £
Norfolk	20	80
Essex	-	50
Bedfordshire	45	58
Northamptonshire	45	68
Hertfordshire	53	105
Huntingdonshire	-	10
East Suffolk	-	-
West Suffolk	15	20
Cambridgeshire	20	40
	£198	£431

Although most of these grants were to assist in class activity, Norfolk (£40), Northamptonshire (£30), Hertfordshire (£45) and Cambridgeshire (£10) contributed the sums in brackets exclusively for District administration.

These grants were not especially generous as other Districts were then receiving grants from county authorities towards maintenance and expansion of provision considerably larger than in East Anglia. For example, between £200 and £300 a year was being contributed by counties such as Somerset, Dorset, Wiltshire and Staffordshire to their W.E.A. Districts. Both Norfolk[1] and Northamptonshire[2] in the Eastern District

1. Burton's (Assistant Secretary for Education) letter to Jacques, March, 1938.
2. Holland's (Director of Education) letter to Hickson, February, 1938.

showed intractable opposition to the notion of block grant support to fund adult education activities. Both preferred and, significantly, believed it easier to obtain committee approval, if a gradual growth in L.E.A. expenditure for adult education were on the basis of a natural increase and expansion in class activity. Officers of both L.E.A.s urged Jacques not to press the block grant issue but to make approaches on the principle of graduation.

In Norfolk, largely because of the early District endeavours in establishing classes in the nineteen twenties, and, on a reduced scale, in Norwich in subsequent years, the attitude of the L.E.A. committees was not hostile but cautious because of the failure to sustain provision in the county. As mentioned earlier, Jacques almost immediately on appointment, turned his attention to Norfolk and Terminal courses were held in four centres in 1936-37 without any financial assistance from the L.E.A., although grants were made in 1937-38.[1]

Unknown to the District, the Board of Extra Mural Studies made an approach to the County Authority in April, 1937 with a view to increasing the number of extra mural classes in the county and as a preliminary to the emerging idea of an appointment of a resident tutor for the rural areas, probably inspired by Pateman and his experience with the Bedfordshire and Cambridgeshire patterns. Eventually, Jacques and Hickson joined forces to visit the Director of Education in October, 1937. The Director of Education welcomed in principle the possibility of a joint approach to adult education which fitted into the exhortation of Circular 1444. In his view,

> "It would provide co-ordination between the Board and W.E.A., would relieve the county of administrative responsibility and would lead to a valuable extension of adult education in which the County Education Committee were interested."

1. The four centres were: Methwold, Feltwell, Swaffham and Thetford.

Informally, it was also agreed that the L.E.A. would make a substantial contribution to the salary of a resident tutor and would grant-aid classes organised, but not conducted, by him.[1]

In agreeing to the proposal, and offering full support of the District, Jacques was nevertheless conscious of its implications for the future of W.E.A. activities in Norfolk and had doubts about the possibility of co-operation with the Board. In an attempt to secure as firm a position as possible in Norfolk the District made strenuous efforts to expand its activities which resulted in increases in the number of classes in 1937-38, the appointment of Poole in summer, 1938, and, after much effort and negotiation, an increase in grant-aid to the District from the County Authority in recognition of the larger volume of work (Table17). The incentive for the District was obvious: in 1936-37 there were no W.E.A. classes in Norfolk L.E.A. and the fear was simply that if this situation persisted, the District would neither have a case for a share in development for which the Board might seek financial aid nor indeed could there be any genuine resistance to an application by the Board for Chapter III providing powers in that county. It would be difficult to oppose any contention by the Board that Norfolk should be regarded as exceptional in view of the District's poor showing and inaction during the previous decade. Green was also acutely aware that under these circumstances the District might again find itself in a position similar to that in Cambridgeshire six years earlier and be forced to concede Norfolk to the Board for Chapter III purposes.[2] The position would be, as Thompson of the North Yorkshire District had told Jacques, that there was a very real difference between possessing providing powers and exercising them. In

1. Jacques' notes of the meeting, 20 October, 1937, indicate that £200 might be available.
2. Green's letter to Jacques, 25 October, 1937.

Norfolk it would matter little if the L.E.A. recognised the District as the responsible body for Chapter III classes if there were none provided. The position would be exacerbated if the University's resident tutor in the county were to organise programme of successful Chapter III classes under the Extra Mural Board, recognised as the responsible body. After the experience of earlier years, it was clear that if the W.E.A. had to concede providing powers in Norfolk it would be impossible to oppose the assumption of similar powers in other counties in East Anglia and the existence of an Eastern District would be in jeopardy.

In an effort to prevent such a development, Jacques wrote unofficially to Burton, Assistant Secretary for Education in Norfolk, who appeared to be favourably disposed towards the W.E.A., seeking financial assistance from the L.E.A. to permit the appointment of a resident W.E.A. tutor organiser in Norfolk.[1] The reply was discouraging. The Norfolk Education Committee had resolved not to grant-aid the appointment of the University's resident tutor for 1938-39, and would almost certainly adopt a similar attitude over a W.E.A. appointment.[2] Indeed, they might go further and suggest that as both organisations appeared to have identical objectives it would be more economical and efficient if they were to unite in common cause. Although Jacques vehemently disagreed, and with good reason, sensitive to the Norfolk view, he recognised its implicit danger for the District and the enormous advantage such an attitude would confer upon the current proposals emerging from the Board. He immediately abandoned the idea, turned his attention to the possibilities of funding by the central W.E.A. and charitable Trusts, a search which was rewarded

1. Jacques letter to Burton, 11 March, 1938.
2. Burton's letter to Jacques, 18 March, 1938. However, the Norfolk L.E.A. grant-aided the University resident tutor appointment by £100 in 1940-41 and also provided a £50 grant towards the District's administrative costs and up to a maximum of £150 in assistance through grants earned in the provision of W.E.A. classes.

a few months later when a Cassel Trust grant of £200 enabled the District to appoint Edmund Poole as its own organiser in Norfolk.

Although there was an element of support for the W.E.A. amongst officers and members of the county council,[1] and sympathy with its objectives and activities, an antipathetic attitude did exist which, as elsewhere, arose from the assumption that it was a political organisation with connections largely with socialist factions. As Poole's appointment was a W.E.A. affair, the Director of Education for Norfolk was not involved, but as the activities of the W.E.A. had increased very considerably and with financial assistance from the county authority, when Poole's successor was being considered, in September, 1941, the L.E.A. was involved in the appointment procedure. Moore, then the Director of Education, objected to the backgrounds and previous experience of the majority of male candidates, largely in working class organisations, and suggested that a woman would be a distinct acquisition to the W.E.A. in Norfolk.[2] Typically, Jacques replied with vigour and candour stressing the non-political principle, underpinning the democratic purpose of adult education and emphasising the personal integrity of those already involved in the District's work. In addition to his own background as a Labour candidate in general elections in the nineteen twenties, he referred to Pateman's trade union history and to Hardman's involvement in Cambridge as an active socialist. Since they were, respectively, Assistant Secretary for Rural Areas and Assistant Secretary for Extension Lectures at the Board of Extra Mural Studies, Jacques neatly resolved, for Moore at least, the question of the W.E.A.'s political bias.[3] Jacques

1. See Chapter 5. Alderman Sam Peel was a staunch, unswerving supporter of the W.E.A. and still in office.
2. Moore's letter to Jacques, 15 September, 1941.
3. Jacques to Moore, 17 September, 1941. Hardman became an M.P. following the 1945 General Election.

stressed that none of those mentioned, of course, used their adult education activities to promote any political views, but perhaps the District thought it prudent not to ignore the prevailing attitude and Miss Leather was appointed to replace Poole and in turn was replaced by Miss Diana Parry, Miss Elaine Floyd[1] and other women tutors until the end of the war.

Essex, like Norfolk, was a county which had been largely undeveloped outside the main urban centres during the first twenty five years of the District's existence and for similar reasons - scattered population, geo graphical inaccessibility and resultant high costs of transport for tutors and the lack of an organised working class movement. Some activity had arisen on an intermittent basis in Pateman's day. For example, Branches existed at Colchester, Harwich and Halstead during the inter-war period, but the District incurred financial loss on every class it organised in Essex in its early period. Even as late as the 1936-37 session when seven courses (two One Year and five Terminal) were arranged, the net deficit after all expenses had been met was more than £31, to which was added a further £27 for travelling expenses and £34 for administrative work - a total deficit of more than £92. The L.E.A. grant came to £45, leaving the District to find over £47. The source of some of these difficulties lay in the county's grant aid scales for classes which were identical for the northern, more remote parts of the county with those applicable to the more populous southern areas which were within the metropolitan area and lay within the London District of the W.E.A. Following approaches from Jacques, the county L.E.A. in 1937 agreed to a differential scale of fees for classes organised by the Eastern District.[2] However, the increase was not forthcoming apparently because

1. Now better known as Elaine Morgan, the journalist and playwright.
2. Letter from Sargent, Director of Education, to Jacques, 11 June, 1937.

the Education Committee took exception to the low level of fees charged to students in W.E.A. classes.[1]

This was a difficult matter for the District as a whole, not merely in Essex. In all its counties, at various times during the nineteen thirties criticism of the level of student fees had arisen and some of the L.E.A.s were reluctant to increase their grants on classes for this reason. The dilemma was a very real one. The District kept fees as low as possible to encourage enrolment, the unemployed were admitted without charge, but even so the per capita expenditure was not negligible. The usual fee for One Year classes in the District in the mid-thirties was four shillings. In addition, students were encouraged, exhorted to become members of the W.E.A. which involved about a further half crown in fees to the District, local administration and advertising of local courses. For a One Year class the tutor's fee was £1. an hour, plus travelling expenses, which were not considered excessive in relation to the time involved in preparation for, and travelling to, classes. Most important from the District's standpoint was the need to ensure that only tutors of high quality and scholarship should be engaged, and the fee thus had to be sufficiently attractive. For example, a One Year course in Harwich in 1937-38 on English Literature was taken by Mrs. Barker, who travelled from Cambridge. Jacques wrote to Lawrence, County Education Officer, in justification of her appointment as tutor for the course:

> "It would have been possible at Harwich last year and again this year to effect arrangements with a tutor whose work would not reach the very high standard which this Association has maintained in your county and elsewhere. This would have rendered the deficit on this class negligible but would have meant a depreciation in the standard of the work, though that standard would have still remained such as would have passed muster if inspected.

1. Letter from J.K. Revans, Assistant Education Officer Essex, 12 November, 1938.

> It has always been my aim and is now in particular my desire to be free from the temptation to appoint a tutor to a class because he or she lives near the centres, when I know that that particular tutor is not the best available within such distance as can be covered by car or rail. To cease now to maintain this important regard for standards might result in work of lesser value being undertaken in our field of co-operation with the Authority and that I cannot contemplate, and am certain that you would not wish me to do so."[1]

Although the argument was cogent, Essex decided to pay no more for its classes and so Jacques applied for a block grant to enable the District to promote developmental work in adult education in the county, in addition to the existing and apparently immutable scale of grants for individual classes. In this work the District would be assisted through the activities of a County Federation of W.E.A. Branches in Essex, which was in process of formation and which would stimulate further the already significant growth in W.E.A. classes and enrolments since 1937.[2] The purpose of the block grant would be to meet anticipated deficits on classes, particularly in new centres, administrative and other expenses in connection with the expansion of class activity incurred by the District and the new County Federation. Finally, the Essex Authority approved a block grant of £150 for the 1940-41 session in addition to its specific grants for individual classes. Remarkably, the District continued to expand its activities throughout the war and by 1945 had more than doubled both the number of classes and enrolled student totals.

While the District benefited enormously from the presence of Hampden Jackson and Poole in Norfolk and Douglas Smith in Essex, the long shadow of an earlier resident tutor fell across East Suffolk and made progress in that county virtually impossible. Armed with Board of

1. Jacques to Lawrence, 9 November, 1938.
2. The Essex Federation of the W.E.A. was formally constituted in the summer of 1939.

Education Circular 1444, Jacques made overtures to the East Suffolk L.E.A., and specifically to Martin Wilson who had been Secretary for Education only since 1934, but who was known to have been a supporter of the work of the W.E.A. in Yorkshire, where he had been Assistant Director of Education in the East Riding. His wife had also taken W.E.A. classes in Yorkshire. The early contact appeared full of promise and in July, 1936 Wilson wrote to Jacques:

> "I have been very glad to read of the vigorous work that has been undertaken by the W.E.A. in Bedfordshire and I hope that later on we may see similar developments taking place here.
>
> When you have in mind your proposal for further development, with greater prospects of success, no doubt you will let me know. The Committee have already given consideration to the sections of Circular 1444 referring to Higher Education, but they are aware that Adult Education should later grow. I shall be glad to give any help that I can to representatives of your Association who want to start individual classes."[1]

As considered earlier, the original East Suffolk scheme had foundered under Whiteley, although this had not been entirely of his own making. In 1936, he was still in East Suffolk, now unemployed although hopeful of a revival of the scheme and befriended by members of the Ipswich Branch, notably Mrs. Whitmore, Chairman of the W.E.A. Branch. Indeed, in 1936, Jacques having discovered from Wilson that there were no prospects of any restoration of the resident tutor scheme least of all with Whiteley as the tutor, felt obliged to see him and dissuade him from clinging to any hopes in that direction. He also had, on information from Green,[2] the unenviable task of conveying to Whiteley the unlikely prospect of his obtaining a tutor's job anywhere.

The possibilities of any development and growth in the county suffered

1. Wilson's letter to Jacques, 13 July, 1936.
2. Green's letter to Jacques, 20 July, 1936.

a severe setback when Martin Wilson left before the end of 1936 to become the Secretary of Education for Shropshire. His successor Leslie Missen did not have the same direct, personal interest in the W.E.A. at that time.[1] The pressures in other areas of the District together with the crucial absence of a vigorous local movement in the W.E.A. led to a preoccupation with developments in other parts of the District and both East and West Suffolk L.E.A.s were not genuinely active areas for the Eastern District until after the war. But in East Suffolk the real weakness lay in the failure of the W.E.A. to take root in the rural areas beyond Ipswich during Whiteley's period as resident tutor. In a letter to Missen in March, 1939, Jacques succinctly summarised the difficulties of the position:

> "It is particularly unfortunate that the work done by William Whiteley when he was Resident Tutor in the area, did not create groups of people willing to assume responsibility when Whiteley left. There are various reasons for this, I believe, but the general lesson revealed, I think, is the insubstantial value of such work when its good health fails to become the proper charge of those taking part in it. It is my intention, with your good will and assistance, to form groups of students and members who, by association, will not only be active for themselves but engage in wider activity, being conscious of the inestimable values of adult education and of their wide application."[2]

Jacques' letter reflected the wider problem with which the W.E.A. had to contend in rural areas throughout the period. Few were prepared to accept responsibility for the organisation and maintenance of self-directing groups in villages. Without the active, continuing presence of able tutors to undertake the encouragement of full participation in their own affairs, many voluntary groups lapsed into dissolution and without groups of committed trade unionists and Co-operators in the county's rural districts there was only a slender possibility of W.E.A. groups

1. Later, Missen was to be both supportive and generous to the District's activities, particularly between 1950 and 1965.
2. Letter of 6th March.

continuing to exist in isolation and without support from the District organisation, which following Whiteley's departure was impossible on financial grounds alone.

In Northamptonshire, the position was entirely different. The W.E.A. Branches were amongst the oldest in the District, some pre-dating its formation in 1913. Others were vigorous, progressive and many had contributed much to the vitality and purpose of the W.E.A. and its identity on the western fringe of the District. It was also the only substantial, industrial area in the District's area comparatively urbanised and attracting large numbers of people from other regions of the country. As a result of these factors, it had always been given both attention and finance from the District in its early years, a position emphasised by the active support of the membership through individuals who were both powerful and influential at the time and who were especially interested in urban problems rather than those of rural populations. The influence of Helen Stocks and trade union leaders such as Chester, Elvin and Allen was particularly strong and ensured that the Northamptonshire interests were given full attention in development.

Further, the first appointment of a worker-tutor, Miss Sophie Green, the close links with the Co-operative Movement and the trade unions, particularly the Boot and Shoe Operatives, and the appointment of a University resident tutor, all ensured that few opportunities for development were overlooked in the county. The role of the L.E.A. was confined to very limited and reluctant financial support which increased only slowly. As he did in Norfolk, Hickson in February, 1935 had visited the Director of Education to explore the possibilities of forming a joint University Local Authority committee to supervise and promote developments in adult education, and, of course, to secure funding for the scheme.

Holland, the Director of Education, believed the only possible way to increase funds for the development of adult education was to pursue the principle of gradualism through increasing the educational activity of Lee and the W.E.A. classes which would attract the specific grant available on the existing scales for individual classes.[1]

Hickson pressed for a conference between the Board and Authority representatives and a meeting was arranged at Cambridge on 19 March, 1936.[2] The District was not invited to be present since it was intended as a conference to consider the joint University/Local Authority role in the provision of adult education in Northamptonshire even though the initiative had come from the County Federation of the W.E.A. However, and for reasons which are not entirely clear, the Northamptonshire representatives, officers and members, withdrew on the eve of the meeting possibly because the County Council members were adament that there could be no immediate increase in the finances for adult education and certainly nothing like the £400 a year which Hickson envisaged under the proposed scheme.[3] A further reason advanced was that there were policy issues involved which could not be discussed outside the County Education Committee and about which members of the sub-committee could not enter into pre-emptive discussion. To these stated reasons, Hickson subsequently added that a further reason was a "suspicion of the W.E.A."[4] Whether or not this last reason was genuine, it could be reasonably held to reflect opinion of several education committees at the time, but the upshot of the flurry of barren activity was simply a re-statement of the status quo. In Northamptonshire, financial support would be continued under the existing arrangements, at the current rates and would be increased only as a direct reflection of greater class activity.

1. Holland's letter to Hickson, 20 February, 1935.
2. Conference Papers issued by Cambridge University Extra Mural Board.
3. Holland's letter to Hickson, 18 March, 1936.
4. Hickson's letter to Jacques, 20 March, 1936.

Some years later, Jacques learned from Holland that financial considerations apart, there was a deep suspicion at County Council level of the radicalism associated with liberal adult education in the industrial centres in Northamptonshire. Apparently, there was little distinction made between the providers for adult education and an antipathetic attitude existed over non-statutory expenditure on education which was of paramount importance. Elsewhere, for example in Essex and Norfolk, the attitude was more closely associated with the links of the W.E.A. with social and political organisations of working people. L.E.A. officers tended to be more objective about the educational role of the W.E.A. and thus recommended Jacques on almost every occasion to pursue a policy of gradualism whereby District income would be increased through expansion in class activity.

Finally, some mention has to be made of the position in Hertfordshire. Apart from desultory activity in the nineteen twenties and thirties, some of it confused by boundary uncertainties between the London and Eastern Districts, little adult education activity was sustained in this county before the war in 1939. As noted in earlier chapters, a few classes were held in the "new towns" and north Hertfordshire on an intermittent basis at Letchworth, Stevenage, St. Alban's Hoddesdon and Welwyn Garden City but little concerted effort appears to have been attempted by the District, and no grant-aid was available apart from that given for classes provided.

Following his appointment, Jacques made an approach to Hertfordshire for increased support for a planned expansion of activities and a minor crisis was avoided when fears that the combined activities in organising classes independently in centres in the county by the London and Eastern District might exhaust the £50 available for adult education in the

county's estimates for 1936-37 proved groundless. The London District had organised only two classes leaving a residue of over £35 available for payment for classes organised by the Eastern District. With the expansion promoted by Jacques the deficit grant on classes reached almost £100 in 1937-38 and Jacques following an interview with John Newsom, the Chief Education Officer, succeeded in achieving a considerable increase in the sum included in the 1938-39 estimates for adult education classes to meet further anticipated deficits on specific classes.

A decisive influence on W.E.A. expansion followed from the appointment of J.L. Longland as Assistant Director of Education in August, 1940. A Cambridge man, a W.E.A. tutor for several years and a former member of the Executive Committee of the Northern District of the W.E.A., Longland on examination of the proposal believed Hertfordshire should enter into membership of the rural areas scheme, with direct access and responsibility for urban areas left with the W.E.A. To Jacques this was an eminently satisfactory solution and was made even more acceptable when the county decided that no resident tutor for rural areas should be appointed for a year or so and that in the interim period the W.E.A. should also be responsible for the whole county until an Article 11 tutor was appointed. With this understanding, Hertfordshire entered the rural areas scheme in 1941 and contributed a grant of £100 a year towards administrative costs of the scheme's operation, on the understanding that during the interim period at least, the sum would be passed on by the rural areas committee to the Eastern District.[1]

1. This paragraph is based on sets of notes taken by Jacques at meetings with Longland on 27 August and 2 December, 1940. Longland, sympathetic to the W.E.A. and aware of the existing difficulty between the District and the Board, devised the scheme with Jacques to ensure that for at least a temporary period, the District would receive the Hertfordshire subvention to assist its provision in the county.

Conclusion

Thus during the period 1936 to 1939, the combination of planned development in adult education by the Board of Extra Mural Studies, the injection of enthusiasm, energy and personal skills brought by Jacques, changing personnel and attitudes in L.E.A.s and the determination of Professor Barker and Green to reach a position of mutual accommodation for both organisations involved in adult education in East Anglia had combined to produce a set of conditions under which all three partners, envisaged in the developments foreshadowed in Circular 1444, had recognisable, major roles for an envisaged important stage in the growth of adult education provision in England.

The position in the District in these other counties and the gradual growth in provision is summarised in Table 18 and should be considered in conjunction with Table 16 (Norfolk and Essex) p.566.

Table 18

Chapter III Classes 1936-40

	1936-37	1937-38	1938-39	1939-40
Bedfordshire				
Classes	33	35	25	19
Students	709	688	503	379
Cambridgeshire and Isle of Ely				
Classes	19	22	32	27
Students	457	476	659	568
Hertfordshire				
Classes	14	18	18	19
Students	283	417	365	359
Huntingdonshire				
Classes	2	3	2	2
Students	45	63	46	43
Northamptonshire and Peterborough				
Classes	31	29	32	30
Students	559	578	546	580
Totals: Classes	99	107	109	97
Students	2053	2222	2119	1929

In the years immediately preceding the war, the District was relatively satisfied with progress in these counties some of which received less attention than they might otherwise have had but for the entanglements over the rural areas scheme. Bedfordshire was the least satisfactory from the District's viewpoint for reasons already mentioned. Further, in these counties in 1939-40 there was a natural decline in provision because of the uncertainty of the conditions, the enlistment of several tutors immediately after the declaration of war, the restrictions on travel, involvement by tutors and students in training schemes for civil defence, and improvisation of a variety of arrangements in connection with evacuation of people from the metropolitan areas. Those courses which continued were predominantly concerned with International Relations and the District and the University began to play a central role in the provision of adult education for H.M. Forces.

Prior to the war, Jacques worked conscientiously to establish supportive relationships with the L.E.A.s in the region and secured, or had been promised, increased grant aid for the W.E.A. The prospect in Hertfordshire was especially encouraging as he doubled the number of classes and student enrolments in the county with the support of Chorlton, Longland's predecessor.[1]

In Cambridgeshire, the cordiality of his relationship with Baker was reflected in the tutor's co-operation in providing classes appropriate to existing and new W.E.A. and university extra-mural groups. With the assistance of Jacques, Baker eventually participated actively in the formation of W.E.A. groups and Branches which became foci of local organisation and courses on the pattern successfully pursued by Shearman a decade earlier

1. In 1935-36, the Hertfordshire totals were 9 classes and 188 students.

in Bedfordshire.

In Northamptonshire, the limited financial support of the L.E.A., and the continued difficulties between Miss Green and Lee, the resident tutor, created problems over expansion. With the decline in enthusiasm by Miss Green, the county lost much of its earlier dynamism in its adult education activities. Further, the Northamptonshire Federation was not prepared to co-operate wholeheartedly with Lee and some Branches did not even notify him about their meetings or activities. As in Bedfordshire, the situation was not one of full, willing co-operation and in part reflected the wider problems which existed between the District and Board over the issue of primacy of providing powers for Chapter III courses, focussed at that time on the rural areas scheme but which had its effects in the general competitive attitudes between both bodies. In these two counties earlier decisions were seriously affecting attitudes of the Federations towards co-operation with the University. The loss of providing powers had been recognised as a major error when Shearman left and the unilateral decision by the Board to appoint Lee to Northamptonshire had soured relationships between the Board and the Federation and was held but incorrectly, to be the main reason for the loss of the Cassel Trust grant for Miss Green. In both counties, the situation appeared to be beyond the capacity or inclination of either resident tutor to remedy.

However, the outbreak of war in September, 1939, which had been anticipated for at least a year, altered the position entirely and

which subsequently led to an entirely new concept of the ways in which adult education should be provided. But immediately in September, 1939, the question was one of continuation of classes irrespective of organisational formulations and carefully drawn up schemes. All energies and attention were devoted to the desirability and practicability of

maintaining the existing framework of class activities, meeting new demands and seizing opportunities in East Anglia which quickly received large concentrations of military personnel because of its strategic position.

At first, there was much confusion and when several members of the Board of Extra Mural Studies were consulted informally by Hickson they were virtually unanimous in recommending a suspension of the rural areas scheme; some, it might be suspected, simply to provide an opportunity of escaping from its extraordinary constitutional convolutions. Jacques and his committee took a different line and were determined to provide W.E.A. classes wherever circumstances would allow. Apart from pestering the Army Authorities to permit him to enlist as an active soldier, he was then 43 years old, Jacques revelled in organising, improvising and as always extending the work of the District. For the broken-backed 1939-40 session, Jacques and Hickson agreed to operate all arrangements severally and jointly as though the rural areas scheme had been formally introduced and under these adverse conditions laid the initial sure foundations for a policy which was to contribute both during and after the war to the development of an established, secure and mutually complementary pattern of liberal adult education in East Anglia which has enjoyed continuous expansion and development in both sectors of provision up to the present time and which was facilitated under the provisions of the Education Act of 1944.

Postscript

In the summer of 1940, and although there were uncertainties about the future, planning for the period following the war proceeded, and an attempt was made to complete the detailed work of the Rural Areas Scheme. Major difficulties remained and these were tackled at the meeting of the sub-committee in May, 1940.

First, the Joint Secretary issue was revived in spite, or partly because, of the entrenched opposition by officers of the Board. The possibility of a tri-partite secretaryship was suggested by the Board representing the University, W.E.A. and L.E.A.s but this manoeuvre failed when it was realised that no one L.E.A. secretary could possibly represent a regional constituency since L.E.A.s were separate and autonomous bodies and in any case had no common policy, nor were likely to reach such a position or attitude in the foreseeable future. The other bodies however, did have similar regional territorial responsibilities and the close correspondence of their ambitions, responsibilities and activities were the root causes of their mistrust and antipathy.

This matter was eventually resolved when it was realised that the Rural Areas Committee was not really a joint committee between the University and the W.E.A. This simple fact was not realised until 1940 because those involved had always thought of the well established model of the University Tutorial Classes Committee as the pattern for joint control of other class activities. However, the Rural Areas Committee was merely a sub-committee of the Board of Extra Mural Studies to which the Board could appoint, within its own constitutional responsibility, representatives from other bodies such as the W.E.A. and L.E.A. At the time, the District refused to recognise the de jure position but following the intervention of Green the matter was settled through the appointment

of Jacques as one of three joint secretaries to the Rural Areas Committee.[1]

Hickson was confirmed as the Secretary of the sub-committee; Hardman as assistant secretary to represent Extension Classes interests in rural areas, Pateman for those Tutorial Classes in rural areas, and Jacques to represent W.E.A. interests, largely Chapter III classes. At the time, it might have appeared as though the W.E.A. had suffered a defeat, but it was, in reality, a major advance for the District in that there was formal recognition of its indispensable role in the provision of adult education in rural areas. As the then major providing partner of adult education in urban areas in the region and the very significant increase in its activities in rural areas, particularly in Norfolk and Essex, and the imminence of the initiative in Hertfordshire, the District could claim to be the major provider of adult education throughout the region, even though in quantitative terms the sum of the activities might not have amounted to much by today's standards. Above all, it implied that the unilateral growth of the Board's activities which began in 1930 had not merely been stemmed but could not continue without recognition by, and the agreement of, the District. In this important sense no further development of liberal adult education in East Anglia could be considered without close consultation with the Eastern District. That this had been achieved within the space of the two years, 1938-40, is remarkable but even more so was the position later in the war when both the Extra Mural Board and the District pressed for future arrangements under the Education Bill to be predicated entirely on the basis of joint co-ordination in order to achieve a genuine organised service for adult

1. Green to Jacques, 18 June, 1940 "Quite frankly, I cannot find any similar Committees where we claim a joint secretaryship ... (we) should try to find a way out before it becomes a first-class issue on the Executive." "Executive" here refers to the central body of the national W.E.A.

education, with increased co-operation and support from L.E.A.s.

Jacques in July, 1944 wrote:

> "We hope to give our greatest contribution by maintaining and developing that historical partnership with the Universities through which in the past so many men and women have seen the satisfaction of their social impulse and cultural desires. The prospect of continuing that partnership in the future, with ever closer consultation and co-operation with Local Authorities, leads us to believe that much more can be done to stimulate interest..."[1]

In the same month, Hickson's memorandum to the Board of Extra Mural Studies about future developments under Paragraph 39 of the Education Bill stated:

> "... The voluntary associations have played and doubtless will play an important part. For that reason the Board hope and expect that a substantial and significant proportion of their work will continue to be arranged in that close partnership with the W.E.A. which has characterised the extra mural work of all Universities in this country."[2]

Another issue outstanding in the Rural Areas Scheme in 1940 was the definition of 'Rural Area'. Wartime conditions with the disappearance of male tutors into H.M. Forces, the reduction of students available for classes, the problem of meeting the needs of Forces personnel in camps, and the difficulty of transport to and from classes made the question of definition superfluous and in practice completely unrealistic. Under these difficulties, the scheme never functioned as intended, although it served as an important vehicle for the growing co-operation and regard between Hickson and Jacques. Jacques took a characteristically entrepreneurial approach seeking always both to stimulate demand and provide the means to meet it through class activity. He invented an

1. W.E.A. District Conference Memorandum, 21 July, 1944.
2. Board of Extra Mural Studies; Memorandum by Chairman and Secretary, July, 1944.

ingenious solution to the problem of tutor supply, through visiting Oxford and appointing, often without pre-knowledge of the programme of classes available, a number of young women graduates. These became resident in county centres in East Anglia as W.E.A. tutors but without salary; their incomes depending almost entirely on a proportion of the fees, received from enrolments, of those classes which they provided. Known as the District's "Sabine women",[1] they held together the framework of the District's organisation throughout the war and, remarkably, increased both the number of Branches and classes provided for the civilian population in addition to those provided specifically for H.M. Forces. They also contributed considerable experience to the importance of resident tutors in rural areas and established the basis for post-war provision by the W.E.A.

The success of the wartime ad hoc, co-operative arrangements, giving little formal recognition to the elaborate mechanisms devised in 1938-39 for the Rural Areas Scheme, led inevitably to its decease. In March 1944, Hickson's memorandum to the Rural Areas Committee outlining possible changes in the organisation of the Board of Extra Mural Studies, under consideration at that time, suggested that its work might be aided through the simplification and improvement of its administrative machinery. Referring to the Rural Areas Committee he wrote that

> "the status and functions ... are rather obscure, and the administrative arrangements are complicated, to say the least. It seems necessary to try to simplify and improve the machinery in the interests of the Board's work, and also in order that the University and voluntary associations may be able to shew to L.E.A.s that their share in adult education will be effectively conducted."

1. The phrase **for tutors** was coined by A.D. Lindsay at the Balliol College High Table in explaining the imminent arrival of Jacques one evening in 1942. "Jacques is arriving from Cambridge tomorrow for his annual rape of the Sabine women!" The phrase enjoyed a wide currency in the W.E.A. during the immediate post-war period.

Hickson suggested two new committees of the Board for its work and

> "that the Rural Areas Committee as at present constituted should cease to exist. It has fulfilled a useful purpose, but experience shews that it is better fitted for consultation than for active concern with the details of educational provision."

In reference to the new committees he also believed that

> "... such an arrangement would be to the advantage of the W.E.A., provided that the partnership in the Joint Committee is genuine and that the W.E.A. retains and exercises the right of providing its own classes as may seem appropriate. Subject to these provisos, the proposal is no more than a logical development of the original W.E.A. practice of asking the University to provide teaching facilities through Joint Committee procedure."[1]

Thus by 1944, the Board of Extra Mural Studies had acknowledged that many of the issues on which the W.E.A. had not been prepared to give ground in 1937 and 1938 were no more than their due. Chapter III Classes were most appropriately provided by the District and the existing joint committee arrangements for the provision of Tutorial Classes were entirely satisfactory and appropriate whether the demand came from a rural or urban area. Finally, the Hickson memorandum also suggested that an appraisal should be made of the role of the Extra Mural Board's interests and level of teaching:

> "Ibelieve that fresh thought needs to be given to what are the appropriate forms of extra-mural teaching by Universities and what are not: on this I have a fairly open mind, though I suggest that in this more attention should be given to the quality of the tutor and of his work than is possible under the present regulations."[2]

The revised constitution of the Rural Areas Committee was finally agreed on 30 July, 1941. The tripartite composition of the committee -

1. Confidential memorandum to the Rural Areas Committee from the Secretary, 27 March, 1944.
2. Ibid.

University, W.E.A., and L.E.A.s in the region was approved, together with the officers of the Board. Jacques represented the interest of the W.E.A. on the committee; the four resident tutors employed by the Board were members and an education officer of each of the six participating L.E.A.s included.[1] In addition to the resolution of the difficulties between the Board and the District, the new committee also represented a major advance in respect of the L.E.A.s. From that time there was a clear recognition of the involvement of L.E.A.s, not merely in a passive way through the payment of grants in aid of classes which had been the previous practice, but also in the active deliberation and consideration of class provision which would enable them to stimulate activity in centres and contribute actively in the shaping of the provision of adult education within their Authorities. In this respect, the Board had made a major contribution to an advance in the attitudes of L.E.A.s towards the provision of adult education in East Anglia, and had modified earlier attitudes, particularly in the District from its formation to at least 1936, which had been to regard the L.E.A. involvement more as a hindrance than supportive. Through the composition of the Committee, it was possible for the Board and W.E.A. to make joint or independent approaches directly to L.E.A.s - a development which the District, through Jacques, valued highly, since it was a formal recognition of the W.E.A. as the Responsible Body for the organisation and provision of Chapter III courses.

The relief felt by the new Committee was obvious. The W.E.A. were delighted, and the Chairman, Professor Ernest Barker, was clearly relieved to have reached an equitable conclusion after a byzantine history of difficulty and attenuated negotiation. At the meeting which ratified

1. Originally, five L.E.A.s but these were joined by the Hertfordshire L.E.A. in 1941.

the final version of the revised constitution he said when introducing the paper:

> "I do not remember there ever having been given such consideration and discussion to the constitution of any other body with which I have been associated."[1]

The full measure of that remark can be gauged when one remembers his seniority as a member of the University Senate and Fellow of Peterhouse.

The Hickson memorandum of March, 1944; the wartime conditions; and the continuing doubts expressed by the W.E.A. about the purpose and value of the rural areas scheme led to the formal demise of the Rural Areas Committee at the end of Michaelmas Term, 1945. Its functions were assumed by a new University-W.E.A. Joint Committee with responsibility for all adult education provision including Tutorial Classes and equally representative of the University and the W.E.A. Hickson and Jacques became its Joint Secretaries with Pateman as its administrative officer.

The way forward in the post-war period had already been broadly signposted in the Education Act of 1944, and subsequently the new Further Education Regulations of 1946 resolved some of the problems which had arisen in the inter-war years such as these associated with the pre-war categorisation of courses under Chapters II and III. The intentions of the new committee exemplified the intended closer co-operation, joint planning and participation in the organisation and provision of liberal adult education which it was anticipated would expand rapidly after the war. However, the post-war expansion proved to be limited for a variety of reasons but the university departments were favoured by the new Regulations much in the way as before the war, so much so that by 1953, the main providers were the extra-mural departments of universities and

1. Jacques verbatim note of this meeting on 30 July, 1941.

not the W.E.A.[1] Much of the provision was, of course, provided jointly and co-operatively with the W.E.A. but the momentum of growth of university provision established in 1924, endorsed and accelerated by the 1932 Regulations and further encouraged by the 1938 Regulations led to a continued relative weakening of the W.E.A.'s providing role.

In the Eastern District, the pattern of university dominance in provision was not as established as in some other Districts because of the vigour and vitality of the W.E.A.'s conscious social purpose which infused its policies, sustained its activities and characterised its courses. In some of the L.E.A.s the educational activities of the District were supported through increased grant aid, but increasingly as their statutory duties for provision were developed through other advances in further education, more direct involvement in social and recreational courses in evening institutes reduced the number of potential students who might otherwise have been attracted to the W.E.A. Nationally, the L.E.A. expansion was rapid: from about 5,000 evening institutes in 1947 to almost 11,000 by 1950, virtually all accommodated through the evening use of existing school premises.[2]

Thus, the concurrent expansion in the university and L.E.A. sectors led to the loss of the earlier pre-eminent position of the W.E.A. in the post-war period as the major provider of liberal adult education. The post-war growth in demand from a society which had undergone an unprecedented social and economic convulsion was one with which no voluntary movement alone could have coped adequately. While this was

1. The Organisation and Finance of Adult Education: Report of the Ashby Committee 1954 op.cit. pp.37-39. By 1951-52, the income received by universities from all sources amounted to £557,000 compared with the income of £131,500 received by the W.E.A. from all its sources. (Ashby Report p.21).
2. R. Fieldhouse op.cit. p.36.

undeniably true for the W.E.A., the inter-war development had also seen a dilution of the social dynamic in favour of an impulse of quantitative growth which had placed it in a relatively weak position with other providers with greater human and material resources. Once the universities and the L.E.A.s began to provide both types of resources for adult education, the W.E.A. was under considerable pressure. The crisis over its continued existence as a Responsible Body was apparently only narrowly resolved in its favour during the deliberations of the Ashby Committee in 1953 and was again raised in the Russell Committee.[1] In an endeavour to return to its earlier social relevance as an educational movement the W.E.A. offered a policy of concentration on a more restricted field of the socially and culturally deprived in urban areas; a renewed initiative for educational provision with trade unions and an emphasis for the improved education of adults in relation to increasing their political and social awareness. Nevertheless, the W.E.A. continued also to press, perhaps mistakenly, for a continuation of provision for academic and liberal studies below the existing levels of university work and in which it was likely to encounter competition with extra mural work and L.E.A. courses.

For more than seventy years the W.E.A. had sustained, often in the teeth of vociferous opposition, two important principles of the purpose of adult education in a democracy: objective discussion of difficult and often controversial social and economic issues without indoctrination together with the freedom of adult students to participate in the organisation and provision of their own voluntary education. For these important reasons

1. Adult Education, A Plan for Development - Report of the Russell Committee, H.M.S.O. 1973.

> "it should not be forgotten that the Workers' Educational Association classes have equipped thousands of workers of all kinds to approach contemporary social and economic problems with the critical objectivity of the student rather than the impassioned prejudice of the agitator."[1]

No fundamental reason appears to exist to prevent the W.E.A. from making a continuing contribution to adult education which reflects its considerable tradition and remarkable achievement in ways similar to the commendation of the Ashby Report and in the vanguard of future developments in adult education.

1. The Organisation and Finance of Adult Education 1954 op.cit. p.36.

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W.E.A. Material

Leaflets and Pamphlets

Many leaflets and pamphlets were issued by the national Association during the period and only a small selection is listed here which have a particular relevance to the development of the Eastern District.

The references are arranged in chronological order:-

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R.H. Tawney	The New Children's Charter (Reprinted from 'The New Statesman') nd. but 1932
The Workers' Educational Association	A Record of Thirty Years' Service 1933
	Educational Recommendations of the Ray Report 1933
	A Brief Account of the Rural Work Undertaken by the W.E.A. nd. but 1933
Eastern District	Coming-of-Age Celebration Souvenir Programme 1913-34
The Workers' Educational Association	Report of the Purpose and Organisation of the Association 1934
	Aims and Standards in W.E.A. Classes: a Report 1937
G.H. Thompson	The Field of Study for W.E.A. Classes W.E.A. 1938
The Workers' Educational Association	The Adult Student as Citizen 1939
H.E. Poole (Ed.)	The Workers' Educational Association in Norfolk: Report for Session 1938-39. The Eastern District
	Going Well 1938-44: a Report on the Eastern District Pendragon Press Cambridge nd. 1944/45
The Workers' Educational Association	The W.E.A. Handbook 1939
	Educational Reconstruction: a W.E.A. Programme May 1942
R.H. Tawney	Education: The Task Before Us Educational Pamphlet No. 6 1943
S.G. Raybould	University Standards in W.E.A. Work 1948
R.H. Tawney	The W.E.A. and Adult Education Jubilee Address Athlone Press 1953
The Workers' Educational Association	Jubilee Addresses on Adult Education 1953

District Histories (These are brief accounts published by the Districts named)

A.J. Allaway	Challenge and Response: W.E.A. East Midlands District 1919-1969 (1970)
E.C. Eagle	The East Midlands District of the W.E.A. (1954)

C. Scrimgeour — Fifty Years Agrowing: The History of the North Staffs. District of the Workers' Educational Association

W.E. Styler — History of Yorkshire North District of the W.E.A. 1914-64 (1965)

C.R. Williams — The South Wales District of the Workers' Educational Association 1907-57 (1958)

Eastern District (The material listed below is held in the District Archives at Botolph House, Cambridge)

Annual Reports 1917-1940

Minute Books: No. 1 1914-1922 No. 2 1923-July 1932
No. 3 1932-1938 No. 4 1939-1953

W.E.T.U.C. Eastern Division Minute Book

Bedford Branch: Committee and Branch Record Book April 1917 - May 1929
Record of Study Class September 1917 - February 1918

General Files

District Executive and Council Meetings

Miscellaneous Papers for Annual Meetings of District together with

Financial Statements

Central Joint Advisory Committee 1918-36

W.E.A. District Secretaries Meetings 1931-38

Central Office Correspondence 1922-1938

Summer Schools 1920-1955

General Accounts and Receipted Bills 1922-35

Subject Files

Kettering Scheme and correspondence with Miss Green and Miss Stocks 1919-1939

Norfolk Scheme and correspondence with J.G. Newlove 1920-1930

Mrs. Dalton and Fund Raising Correspondence and Proposals 1920-1921

Bedfordshire Rural Scheme 1928-1930

Bedfordshire Appointment of Tutor, 1927

Rural Areas Committee: Relations with Board of Extra Mural Studies 1932-1939

Eastern District Bulletin 1929-1932

East Suffolk Scheme and correspondence with Central Office

Branch Secretaries Conferences, 1919 and 1931

W.E.A. Central Office Executive Committee Meeting Papers 1922-1933

W.E.A. National Conferences File - York, Manchester, Birmingham

Board of Education Correspondence over Courses and Regulations for Classes 1925-1934

District Conferences 1932-33 on Restriction of Educational Facilities - includes those held at Cambridge, Norwich and Kettering 1932-1933.

Branches: Annual Reports 1925-1933

British Institute of Adult Education material 1923-1930

Board of Extra Mural Studies 1925-1940

Summer Schools 1919-1939

Federations

Bedfordshire 1930-1940

Northamptonshire 1932-1940

Norfolk 1938

Essex 1939

L.E.A.s

Bedfordshire Education Committee 1926-1940

Hertfordshire from 1921

Cambridgeshire Education Committee from 1922

East Suffolk 1931-1937

Norfolk 1920-1940

Northamptonshire 1919-1940

Essex 1926-1940

Correspondence Files for the period 1919 to 1935 with:

Mrs. M.G. Adams, Mrs. Ruth Dalton, Miss S. Green, Mrs. C.D. Rackham, Miss Helen Stocks, Mrs. B. Wootton.

Messrs. A.C. Allen, W.P. Baker, A.E. Douglas Smith, H.L. Elvin, J. Hampden Jackson, F. Lee, J.G. Newlove, H. Plaskitt, H.C. Shearman, A.C. Wadsworth, W. Whiteley

Letter Book: G.H. Pateman November 1913 - December 1914

Box A - W.E.A./T.U.C./W.E.T.U.C. (Eastern Division) Miscellaneous Papers

Material on District Branches and W.E.A. Centres:

Box B Miscellaneous on Branches and Centres from Aspley Guise to Yoxford arranged in alphabetical sequence (total 52 but not all included)
Branch Files: Bedford to Bury St. Edmunds (total 3)

Box C Branch Files: Cambridge to Haddenham (total 11)

Box D Branch Files: Halstead to Lowestoft (total 8)

Box E Branch Files: Luton to Peterborough (total 6)

Box F Branches Files: Rothwell to Wymondham (total 12)

Universities:

1. Cambridge

Archival material in connection with the Local Examinations and Lectures Syndicate and its successor the Board of Extra Mural Studies is held at the Cambridge University Library. The material was fully catalogued by Edwin Welch in 1974. (C.U.L. Reference IN. 17)
Source Material examined:

Local Examinations and Local Lectures Syndicate (L.E.L.S.) Guard Books 1894-1908, 1909-1933

Local Examinations and Lectures Syndicate Reports on Tutorial Classes 1909-1924

Local Examinations and Lectures Committee Minute Books 1905-1949

Cambridge University L.E.L.S. and Board of Extra Mural Studies Tutorial Classes Committees 1909-1940

Cambridge University Tutorial Classes Syllabuses 1909-1929

Cambridge University Reporter 1909-1929

Board of Extra Mural Studies: Annual Reports 1925-1940
Minute Book 1924-1941
W.E.A. File 1926-1964
Rural Areas Committee 1930-1943
Tutorial Class Registers:
Wellingborough 1909-1912
Ipswich 1913-1922
Norwich 1913-1915
Bedford 1919-1922
Northampton 1923-1926

2. Oxford

Archival material is held at both the Bodleian Library and in the reference section of the University Department for External Studies, Rewley House, Oxford.
Source Material examined:

Delegacy for the Extension of Teaching Beyond the Limits of the University:

Annual Reports 1909-1919
Minute Books 1909-1919 which include

correspondence between J.A.R. Marriott and other Secretaries for University Extension.
Reports on Tutorial Classes 1909-1914

Miscellaneous Sources:

Bedfordshire County Council Education Committee 1924-1939
Adult Education Sub-Committee 1924-1940

Northamptonshire County Council Education Committee 1926-1937

'Education' January 1924 - December 1930 Councils and Education Press Ltd.

Personal Diaries of A.J. Wyatt 1858-1935. In the possession of his grandson, Dyson's Green, Reading, Berkshire

G.H. Pateman's Notebooks and essays as a student in Manchester Tutorial Class on Industrial History 1909-1912; notes of lectures provided when Secretary of the Eastern District, and drafts of speeches at the Cambridge Union when an adult student at Trinity College.

Newspapers: A wide variety of local and national newspapers were consulted in connection with events and activities considered likely to contribute material towards the study.
Those below represent the variety of sources although, of course, a complete survey throughout the period has not been possible, nor considered necessary, and Durant's Press Cuttings service has provided an additional valuable source of material

The Times
The Manchester Guardian
The Morning Post
The Schoolmaster
Teachers' World
Bedfordshire Times and Independent
Cambridge Daily News
East Anglian Daily Times
Essex County Chronicle
Kettering Leader and Guardian
Lincoln Leader and Echo
Halstead Gazette
Northampton Echo

The Central Joint Advisory Committee on Tutorial Classes: Annual Reports 1910-1930

Greater London Council: Press Release No. 18 1965 on H.C. Shearman following his renomination as Chairman of the G.L.C.

Appendix No. 1

WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION

EASTERN DISTRICT

D R A F T C O N S T I T U T I O N

To be submitted to the Annual Meeting, July 1st, 1916.

I. - NAME

The Association shall be known as the Workers' Educational Association, Eastern District. It shall be definitely unsectarian and non-party in politics.

AREA

The District Association shall operate over the counties of Lincoln, Northampton, Huntingdon, Bedford, Cambridge, Norfolk and Suffolk, and the parts of Essex and Hertfordshire outside the London area.
Any change in the area of the District must be made by the Central Council in consultation with the local Branches and the existing District Authorities.
Small adjustments of boundary may be made at any time by the Central Council after consultation with the District Authorities and branches concerned.

II. - OBJECTS

(Same as in Central Constitution.)

III. - METHODS

(Same as in Central Constitution.)

IV. - THE DISTRICT AUTHORITY

The District Authority shall consist of branches, individual members and affiliated societies, and shall be administered through:

(a) The District Council.
(b) The Annual Meeting.

It shall carry out the policy of the Association as decided by the Central Authority.
It shall not be permissible for the District Association to affiliate to any other organisation, but this shall not preclude the appointment of representatives upon

committees or councils of other educational organisations, provided such representation is approved by the Central Council. Nominations to any University Committees made by the District Authority shall not be valid without the confirmation of the Central Authority. It shall not approach any bodies operating wholly or in part in the area of any other District except through the medium of the Central Council. It shall submit an Annual Report and Balance Sheet to the Central Council made up to the 31st May preceding, not later than the first Saturday in July of each year.
It shall pay to the Central Authority such contributions as the Central Council may from time to time determine.
It shall have power to make grants to local Branches in its area. It shall appoint an Auditor or Auditors annually.

Terms of Affiliation and Membership

The District Association shall affiliate societies, institutions and movements on payment of a minimum annual subscription of one guinea.
It shall admit individuals as members on payment of a minimum annual subscription of two shillings and sixpence; including "The Highway" four shillings.
It shall have power to affiliate groups of bona fide students organised by the Association in areas where a local branch does not exist on payment of a minimum annual affiliation fee of seven shillings and sixpence.
It shall receive from each local Branch an annual subscription of not less than one penny in every shilling or such sums as the Annual Meeting of the District Association may decide of the total subscriptions of individual members and affiliated societies together with donations other than those for special purposes.

Officers

The officers shall consist of a Chairman, Vice-Chairman, Treasurer, and Secretary. The Chairman, Vice-Chairman, and Treasurer shall be elected annually by the Annual Meeting. The Secretary shall be appointed by the District Council in consultation with the Executive Committee of the Central Council.

Management

(a) The District Council. The District Council shall consist of:

1. Two representatives of each local Branch.

2. One representative from each affiliated society.

3. One representative from each approved group of students.

4. One representative for every twenty (or part thereof) individual members, elected by and from the individual members of the District by ballot.

5. The Chairman, Vice-Chairman, and Hon. Treasurer of the District (ex-officio).

6. The President, Vice-President, and General Secretary of the Central Council (ex-officio).

It shall meet at least twice in each year, which meetings shall be held not less than two weeks prior to the two stated meetings of the Central Council. It shall carry out the instructions of the Annual Meeting and act for the District Authority in all matters relating solely to the District. It shall appoint the District Secretary in consultation with the Executive Committee of the Central Council. It may appoint from its members an Executive Committee, which shall consist of four members, together with the Chairman, Vice-Chairman, and Treasurer. The Council shall have the power to appoint such other Committees as it finds necessary.
The representatives of the individual members on the District Council shall be elected by the individual members of the District Authority who shall vote by ballot. Ballot papers shall be sent out to members at the same time as the notice of motions and nominations of Chairman, Vice-Chairman and Treasurer and to be returned not less than seven days before the date of the Annual General Meeting. In the event of insufficient nominations being received from the individual members of the District Authority, the Council shall be made up to the required number by election by show of hands at the Annual General Meeting.

Annual General Meeting. Amended to "not later than fourth Saturday in June"

(b) The Annual General Meeting shall be held not later than the (first Saturday in July) of each year, in such centres as may from time to time be determined. To it shall be presented the Annual Report Balance Sheet and Statement of Accounts made up to the 31st May preceding. It shall elect the Chairman, Vice-Chairman, Honorary Treasurer, and Auditor or Auditors. It shall appoint six representatives to the Central Council, of whom two shall be chosen from the representatives of Branches. Notices of motion, and nominations for Chairman, Vice-Chairman, Treasurer, Auditor or Auditors, the individual members of the Council, and six representatives to the Central Council, two of whom shall be chosen from the representatives of Branches, must be sent to the Secretary not less than 21 days before the Annual General Meeting, and shall be issued by him together with the Annual Report and Balance Sheet to the Branches, affiliated societies and individual members, not later than 14

days before the Annual General Meeting. To the Annual General Meeting shall be summoned:-

(a) All the members of the District Council who shall have no power to vote unless the same be delegated to them by their respective authorities or societies.

(b) Three representatives of each Branch in the area of the District, who shall have power to cast one vote for each individual member of, and 20 votes for each body affiliated by, the Branch.

(c) One representative of each affiliated body who shall have power to cast 30 votes.

(d) One representative of each approved group of students who shall have power to cast 30 votes.

(e) All the individual members of the District who shall each have power to cast one vote.

Voting

All voting shall be by show of hands (unless a card vote is demanded by ten or more members). The "previous question" shall not be accepted on an amendment to the Constitution. In the event of the "previous question" being moved on any other matter it shall be submitted only to a vote by show of hands.
No resolution may be approved by any Authority in the Association which, in the representation of any affiliated body, is shown to be contrary to the previously declared policy of that body. Such resolution, however, may be approved if the declared policy of the affiliated body in question is contrary to the objects and methods of the Association.

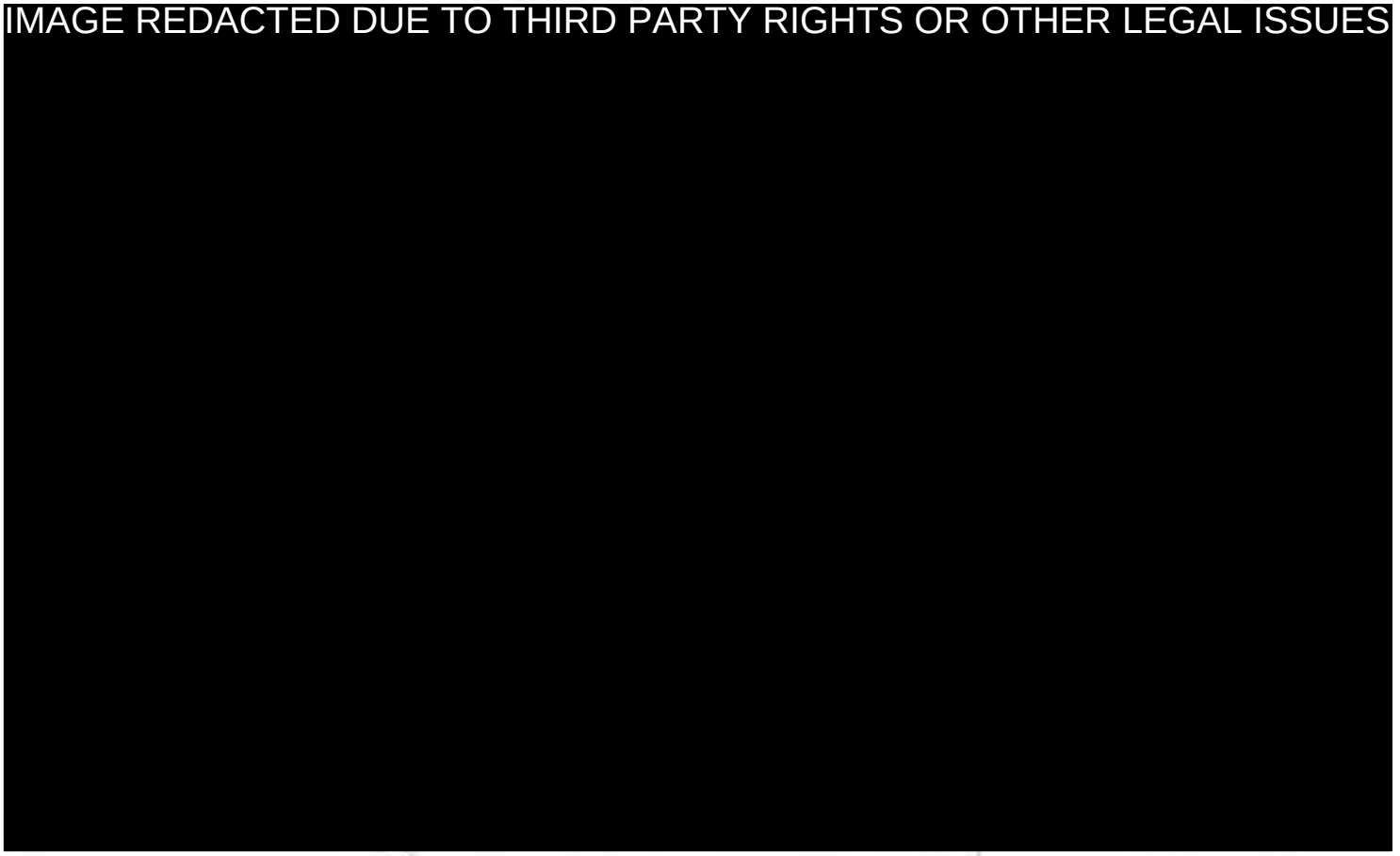
Local Branches

(Same as in Central Constitution)

(4) The Chairman, Vice-Chairman and Secretary of the District Authority shall be members (ex-officio) of the Council of each local Branch.

V. - ALTERATION OF CONSTITUTION

No alteration of the Constitution may be made except at the Annual Meeting of the District and such alteration will not be valid until it has received the approval of the Central Council.
The District Authority shall have power to adjust the Constitution in accordance with any alterations made in the Central Constitution.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FOREWORD.

By a Rural Student.

As a village man having a thorough knowledge of the Workers' Educational Association, I most heartily commend this scheme.

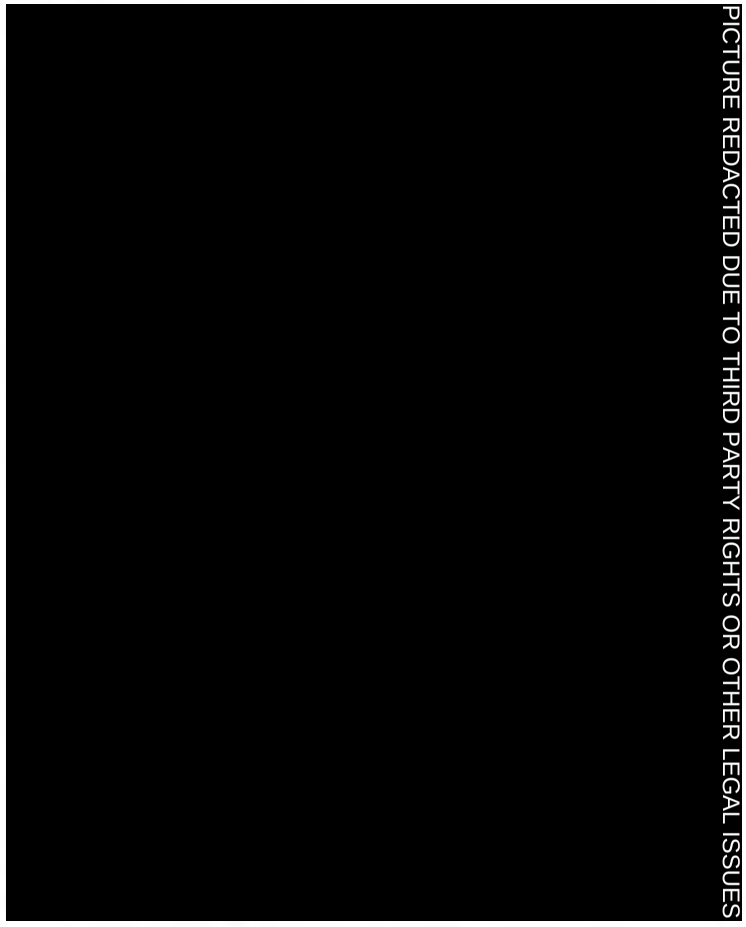
There must be many men and women in this county who were obliged, as I myself was, to leave the village school at an early age, and who now desire to understand better the things around us. This scheme will bring to them opportunities, hitherto confined to towns, of free and open minded inquiry into all those subjects which most immediately concern our appreciation and enjoyment of life.

There are scattered throughout the country many people whom the W.E.A. has assisted to appreciate the past and understand the present. It has brought us into the fellowship of learning and made us eager both to find truth and to share it with others. I am glad this work is to be extended and sincerely hope that the men in the country parts will back it up, and secure in the meetings the same pleasure and profit that I have found in them myself.

I commend it in the confident hope that it will be warmly welcomed, and ask for it the friendly aid and co-operation which it so richly deserves.

Renhold Green,
Bedfordshire.

E. W. GURNEY.



H. C. SHEARMAN, M.A.

Mr. H. C. Shearman, M.A., the Tutor-Organiser for rural work, was born in an Oxfordshire village and attended the village school at Sulgrave. He obtained a County Council Scholarship to Magdalen College School, Brackley. During the war he served first in the ranks in Mesopotamia and subsequently obtained a commission in the Royal Air Force. Later he went up to Oxford, taking his degree with first class honours in History. He has since been engaged in teaching at Cambridge, and has obtained experience in W.E.A. lecturing there. During most of his life he has been in close touch with village life in different parts of the country.

TOWARDS A BRIGHTER COUNTRYSIDE.

The opportunities set out in this pamphlet are now, for the first time, being brought in reach of all in the villages and smaller towns within a radius of about twenty miles round Bedford. Openings for pleasure and profit which were confined, not so long ago, to the favoured members of the Universities, are being extended to the country districts.

The Workers' Educational Association provides lectures on topics of real interest, closely related to our every day life. The subjects treated vary widely and there is something for everyone. No standard of education is necessary in order to take advantage of the scheme: it should therefore prove especially attractive to those whose schooling finished in early life.

Though hitherto chiefly confined to the towns, the W.E.A. has attracted keen villagers who have often travelled under difficulties in order to attend its classes; and the interest aroused by lectures already given under the W.E.A. in some villages has led to the appointment of a Resident Tutor for this rural area.

HOW TO ENTER UPON THE SCHEME.

The W.E.A. is an organisation relying largely on voluntary local effort for support and development. In all centres the local branch has been started as a result of the efforts of one or two individuals, seeking opportunities for themselves and their fellows.

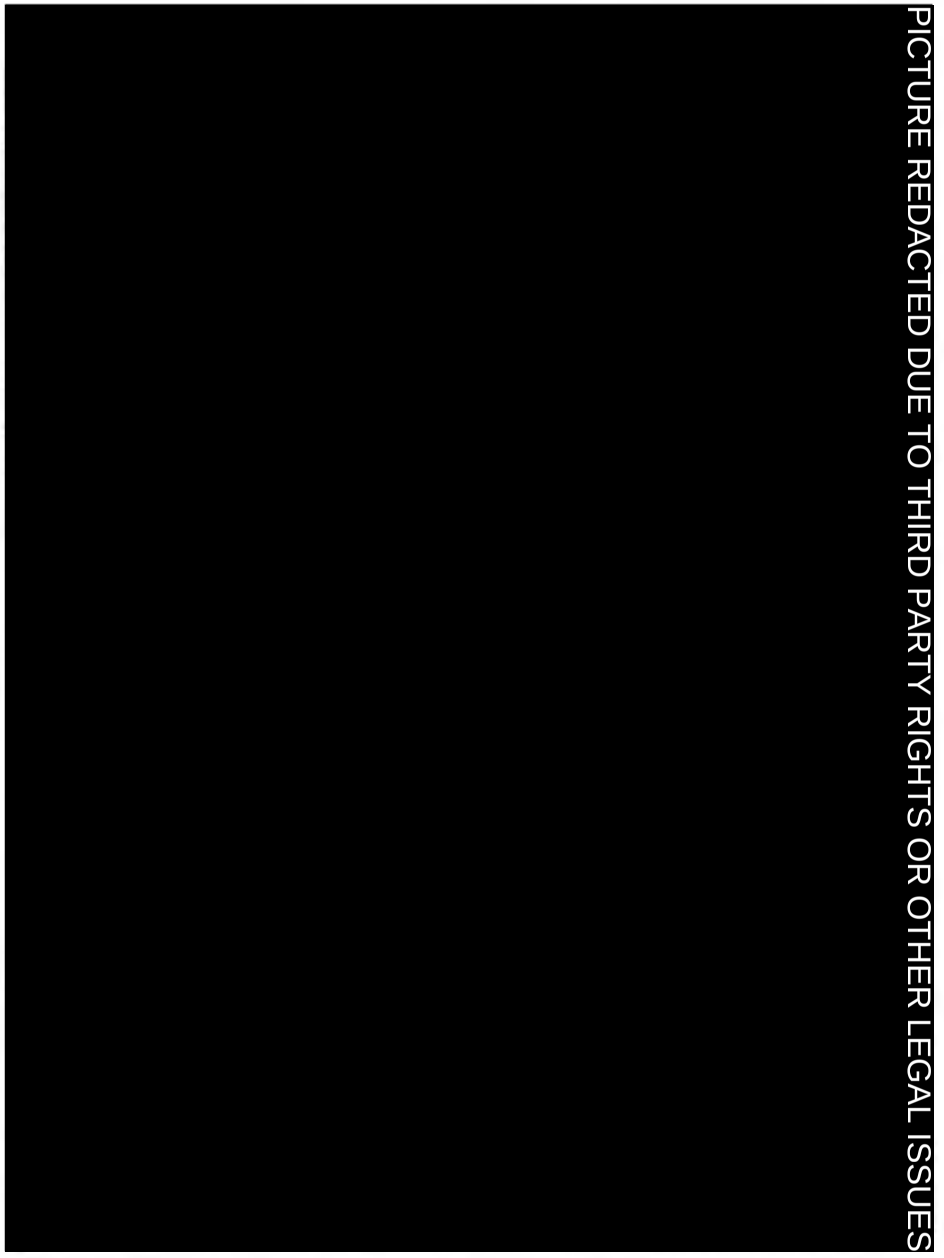
Anyone can take the lead—either a clergyman, minister, schoolmaster, or trade union secretary, or the man or woman at the plough, in the shop, or in the home.

Show this pamphlet to your friends; discuss it with them: try to get a few to join with you in a request for one of the lectures or courses in this programme, and write without delay to the Tutor, Mr. H. C. Shearman, Sedes Mea, Willington, Beds. Mr. Shearman welcomes enquiries and will endeavour to pay a visit to anyone who would like to see him in connection with the scheme.

Meetings can be held in a schoolroom, village hall, or in any place where people are accustomed to gather. There are no rules and restrictions; smoking is allowed, and free discussion is welcomed.

The W.E.A. is responsible for the main costs of the scheme, and only a small part of the expense will fall on the village.

Books bearing on the subject can be borrowed from the nearest County Library branch; some suggested titles are given under each lecture, and a fuller list may be had from the County Librarian, the local librarian, or the Lecturer.



SOME W.E.A. GROUPS.

SINGLE LECTURES.

(Nos. 1 to 3 are Lantern Lectures).

1. The Story of our Village Churches.

Their unknown builders changing fashions in style and decoration; what the building tells us of the past life of the village

Books. J. C Cox—The English Parish Church: Consitt—Outline of Architecture.

2. Travelling and Wayfarers in other days.

When roads were quagmires when the bridge fell down, wandering merchants and chapmen, carriers, pilgrims scholars, and minstrels five hundred years ago; from pack-horse and pilgrimage to motor bus and aeroplanes

Books: Harper—The Great North Road: Parkes—Travel in England in the Seventeenth Century.

3. Village Life of Long Ago.

Old methods of farming, the fallow field the plough ox, the goose on the common; the Manor Court; quaint customs; Merry England.

Books. Clark—Working Life of Women in the Seventeenth Century. Quennell—History of Everyday Things in England: Coulton Chaucer and his England.

4. The Place Names of Bedfordshire.

What they tell us of the early settlers, how they have changed in process of time, deceptive place names place names as a clue to problems of history.

5. A Day in the Life of a Member of Parliament.

Mr. Speaker takes the Chair the Member puts a question on behalf of one of his constituents: a Private Bill a big debate the Division Lobbies: the Committee Rooms Eleven o clock—"Who goes home?"

Books: Ilbert—Parliament; Masterman—How England is governed

6. The Co-operative Movement.

Origins—Owen Rochdale pioneers producers co operation and its failures; co-operation in other lands problems and questions.

7. Thomas Hardy: Poet and Novelist of Country Life.

"Far from the madding crowd" Farmer Gabriel Oak; Lambing under the stars: the rick-burning the Fair Tess and the Milkmaids "Under the Greenwood Tree" the Christmas carols, Jude the Obscure and the University.

Books—Hardy's Novels, Selected Poems Abercrombie—Thomas Hardy, a critical study.

8. Three Novelists of Country Life.

Balzac's "Eugénie Grandet". a French village miser Knut Hamsun's "Growth of the Soil" a pioneer farmer in Norwegian backwoods, Sheila Kaye Smith's "Sussex Gorse": a phase in English rural history. These three writers bring out the strength and weakness of the "successful" man, whose outlook is limited to his work.

Books: The three novels are in the County Library

9. Tolstoy and his novel' "War and Peace."

Tolstoy, the greatest of the Russian novelists, was a prince who became a peasant an idealist who describes men and women as they really are, an ex-soldier who preached peace and his great novel of the war with Napoleon is full of meaning for us, with our memories of a greater war.

Books This and other novels and stories by Tolstoy

10. Dante and his Vision.

Dante, the greatest poet of Italy, and one of the three or four greatest of all poets, died 600 years ago. Into his "Divine Comedy," an Epic Vision of the future world, he put all his deep and wide experience of this world of men, of defeat and exile of poverty and dependence; and also his hopes and ideals for world peace and harmony

Books: Cunnington—Stories from Dante. Howell—Dante, his life and work.

11. A Day in London.

The Tower, Bank of England, Guildhall St Paul's Newspaperland Law Courts Trafalgar Square Whitehall and Downing Street the Cenotaph Westminster and Houses of Parliament

SHORT COURSES.

(Some of the Lectures below can also be taken as single lectures if desired).

A. How We are Governed.

1—The Government and its Servants: Whitehall and the Civil Service, and the place of the permanent official in the smooth running of the state.

2—The Government and its Masters: the Cabinet and its dependence on Parliament and the Electorate.

3—The Courts of Law: The Magistrate, the Jury, the Courts of Appeal, the House of Lords.

4—Local Government.

Books: Masterman—How England is Governed; Ilbert—Parliament

B. Problems of the Modern World.

1—The Cost of Living: Why prices rise and fall and how the "cost of living" is estimated.

2—The Poor Law: The relief of the poor was formerly the duty of the church and the trade-guild: how the problem became too big for local effort, and the state organised poor-relief; probable changes.

3—Unemployment

4—New Ideals in Education: the infant: the boy and girl: continuation schools: adult education.

Books: Lawrence—Why Prices Rise and Fall: Pigou—Unemployment: H. Jones—Social Economics: Montessori—The Montessori Method: Russell—On Education: Wells—Sanderson of Oundle. Mansbridge—An Adventure in Working Class Education

C. The New Europe.

1—Nations and Empires: a sketch of the development of Europe in the last hundred years.

2—The Peace Treaty of 1919: It was an attempt to realise certain ideals and to create a lasting settlement of Europe, but it was also to some extent a compromise between conflicting ideals and claims.

3—Europe since 1919. The "growing pains" of new nations

4—The League of Nations: Earlier schemes for world peace; the growth of arbitration; "The Parliament of Man, the Federation of the World", problems of the League

Books: Gooch: History of our own Times.

D. Democracy.

1—The Winning of Democracy: Democracies have existed, in some form, at various stages of history; modern democracy was achieved in England by a slow process, changing the old House of Commons into a popular assembly, by the pressure of public opinion and the gradual education of the people.

2—Democracy and its Leaders: How our national leaders and party leaders are chosen, the English Premier and the American President; do leaders really "lead?"

3—Problems of Democracy.

4—Democratic Ideals: Liberty, Equality of Opportunity, Progress. How can they be realised?" Short cuts versus Education.

Books: Jenks—History of Politics: Brown—The Meaning of Democracy: Trevelyan—British History in the Nineteenth Century.

E. Life and Work in Bygone Days.

1—The Village Community: Food and dress in the "good old days", sports and amusements, the Manor Court—making "the punishment fit the crime": marriage; women's life and work when food, clothes, and houses were all "home made."

2—Fields and Fallows: Methods of cultivation before the days of hedges, pastures, root crops.

3—The Coming of the Hedges: how the countryside came to be what it is—a patchwork of enclosed fields, some ploughed and some grass

Books: Ditchfield—Old Village Life. Hartley: Life and Work of the People of England in the Fifteenth Century: Waters—Economic History of England: Quennell—History of Everyday Things in England.

F. Life and Work in Modern Times.

1—New Methods in Agriculture: "Turnip Townshend", new breeds of cattle; the beginnings of scientific seed and soil study; large farms and small holdings.

2—The Coming of Machines: the rise and rapid development of our industries, based on coal and steam.

3—The Labour Movement: the new Industry in its effect on the life of the workers, their organisation in the new large towns—trade unionism and co operation.

4—The State and the Welfare of the People: Factory Laws: Education, Insurance.

Books: Fordham—Short History of the English Agricultural Labourer: Townsend Warner—Landmarks in English Industrial History: Waters—Economic History of England: Ashby—Economic Organisation of England: Stone—A History of Labour.

G. An Introduction to Literature.

1—On Reading the Newspaper: Why we read the newspaper; how newspapers began in war-time. "Tidings" in Bible days: the instinct of curiosity—we want to know more about our fellows and the world about us. Literature helps to satisfy the higher forms of this instinct.

2—The Reading of Novels: Novels generally contain a story, a plot, and some character study, just as newspapers often give us news, mysteries, and personalities. How far is fiction "true?"

3—The Study of Poetry: at first Poetry was compounded of telling a story and singing; the story gave us the great Epics, and song gave us the Lyric. The difficulties of poetry—it uses uncommon words and phrases—the language of emotion. "Of what use is poetry?"

4—The Art of Writing. How to write a letter: two questions—what to say, and how to say it. How to write an essay. Conclusion—Reading and Expression as the beginning and the end of education.

Books: Lamborn—Rudiments of Criticism: Quiller-Couch—Art of Reading: Canby—Better Writing: Hudson—Introduction to the Study of Literature.

H. An Introduction to Shakespeare.

1—Shakespeare and his England. The days of Good Queen Bess: the Stratford youth: the London stage; his sonnets.

2—Shakespeare's Comedies: What is a Comedy? "Twelfth Night"—a typically complicated love story: some comic characters. In the comedies we laugh at men's weaknesses and foibles.

3—The great Tragedies: these men's failings entail terrible results: common human motives, like jealousy and ambition, are made the basis of crimes which recoil with deadly effect.

Books: Lamborn—Shakespeare and his stage: Masefield—Shakespeare: Dowden—Shakespeare.

I. Some Countryside Poets.

1—Robbie Burns, the ploughman poet of Scotland

2—William Cowper of Olney

3—John Clare, of Helpston, near Stamford, the poet who began life at the plough and wrote his best verses in the asylum.

4—Wordsworth

Books: Roy—Cowper and his Poetry: Kellow—Burns and his Poetry: Hudson—Wordsworth and his Poetry. Poems by John Clare.

J. Some great books of other lands.

1—Dante's "Divine Comedy"

2—The Spanish Novel, "Don Quixote."

3—Three great Russian novelists: Turgeniev, Dostoievsky, Tolstoy.

In each of these, as well as in other cases, the greatest literature of the nation is closely connected with a crisis in the nation's history

Books: Cunnington—Stories from Dante. The Story of Don Quixote

The above Lectures and Courses are being given by MR. H. C. SHEARMAN, M.A. It is hoped that some other Lecturers will also be available for other subjects from time to time. Enquiries for Lectures on subjects not mentioned in this list will be welcomed.

Why not join the W.E.A.?

The W.E.A. exists to serve those whose leisure and opportunities for reading and study have been limited.

The W.E.A. is a Federation of over 2500 Organisations, linking labour with learning. It is non-sectarian and non-political.

Membership is open to all without distinction of age or sex. An enquiring mind is sufficient qualification.

Founded in 1903, it has grown steadily, and in 1926-7 over 70,000 people took advantage of its lectures and classes. Many, including some from this district, were enabled to attend summer courses at the Universities.

The W.E.A. will add zest to your enjoyment of life.

Full information can be had on application to the Secretary of the Eastern District:

Mr. G. H. PATEMAN,

276, Cherryhinton Road,

Cambridge.

Appendix 3

On Getting to Lectures in the Village

It has meant a big difference to the village of "X" that a 'bus now runs from Bedford, and by great good fortune it passes the village school at 7.15. and returns about an hour and a half later. So the lady who talks about Shakespeare and gets some rather shy village folk to take part in reading "The Merchant of Venice" can get here and back fairly easily. It was not always like this, and "X" is an exceptional case, for few other villages have a 'bus which leaves for Bedford later than about 7 o'clock. Moreover the privileges of "X" are insecure; for a dispute between the 'bus company and "the Council" looks like resulting in the withdrawal of the former's license. We shall then be where we were last winter - dependent on the services of a lecturer with a car, coming nearly twenty miles from the other side of the county. It seems that his lectures here generally happen to fall on a foggy night, and the sudden twists in our country lanes would alarm the ..... on such an evening.

Then there are the frosts; and the wrappings of rugs and jackets round the radiator, or - on really cold nights - draining off the water into a bucket which is then put to keep warm on the schoolroom stove behind the speaker as he talks.

The village is a scattered one with "Ends", as they are called locally, in several parts of a wide parish area. The schoolhouse is isolated, nearly half a mile from other houses on either side.

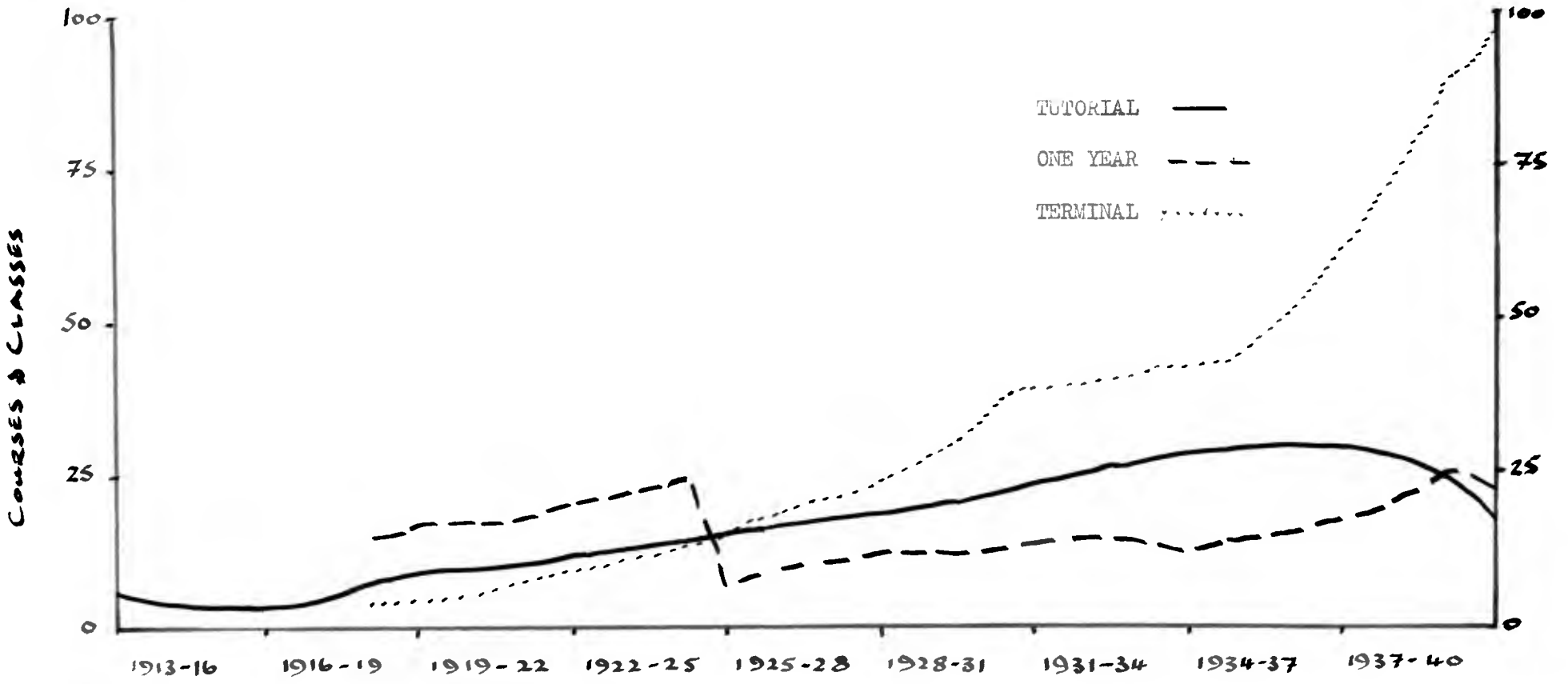
Of course "there's a lot on", in the village, the Chapel has one night and the Womens' Institute another, Friday is "pay night" and

traditionally reserved for anything in the way of Whist Drives and dances which may be arranged for local causes, such as repairing the Church roof. As there is only the schoolroom available, and it contains the billiard table, from which we are unwilling to be excluded every evening in the week, the competition for time and place can readily be imagined. And even when the general question has been settled there arise occasional and unforeseen causes of disruption. This week it is the village "Feast", with all its glorious excitement of the "fun of the Fair", last year it was the frost, which gave us nearly three weeks of skating by the light of farmyard lanterns; to say nothing of fogs and political concerts and what not.

So getting to the lectures is not without its difficulties. Once there we generally find that something of interest crops up, and it is surprising how many local examples arise to give us our chance of joining in the discussion. So all things considered, the "Lectures" do fill a place in the Village programme during the winter months.

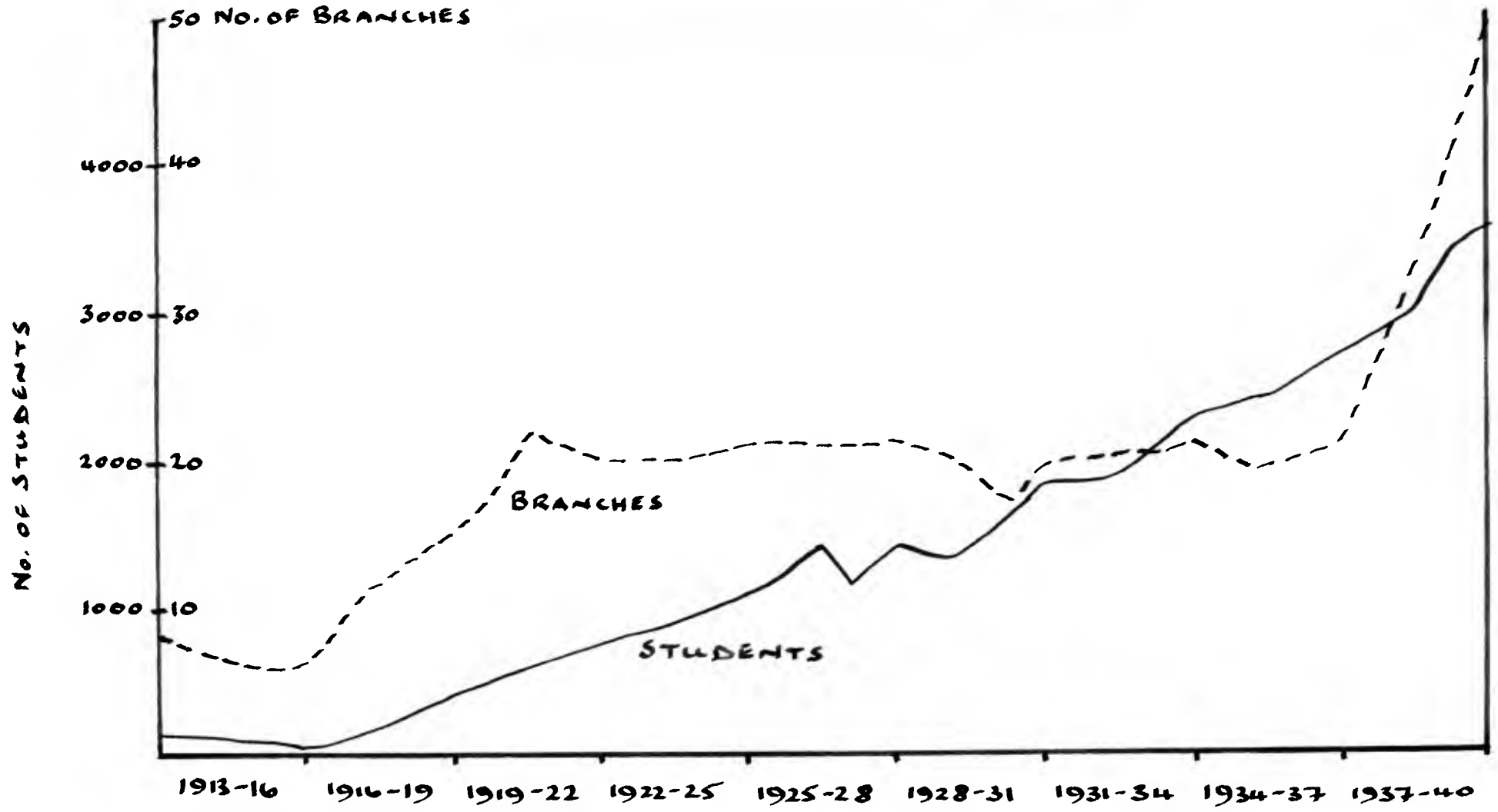
APPENDIX 4 GRAPH NO. 1.

EASTERN DISTRICT: COURSES AND CLASSES 1913 - 1940.



APPENDIX 5. GRAPH NO. 2.

EASTERN DISTRICT: ENROLLED STUDENTS 1913 - 40.



Appendix 6

31. 1. 39

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE CAMBRIDGE BOARD OF EXTRA-MURAL STUDIES AND THE W.E.A.

New Proposals put forward by Dr. Ernest Barker, January 31st, 1939:

DRAFT CONSTITUTION FOR RURAL AREAS COMMITTEE

1. The Rural Areas Committee shall be equally representative of the Board, the L.E.A.s concerned, and the W.E.A. Eastern District, and officers of all these bodies shall be eligible to attend. (At present five L.E.A.s are concerned).

2. It shall be the duty of the Rural Areas Committee to encourage the development and co-ordination of adult education in rural centres (it being understood that the term rural centres shall signify centres of population of less than 6,000).

3. The Rural Areas Committee shall receive and manage grants, e.g. from the Board, the Board of Education, L.E.A.s, and Trusts, and grants as provided in 8(b).

4. The Resident Tutors in the counties concerned shall be responsible to and shall report to the Board through the Rural Areas Committee. The Committee may also make recommendations to the Board about new appointments in other counties.

5. It shall be the duty of Resident Tutors and Officers of the Rural Areas Committee to promote a comprehensive scheme of adult education for

all sections of the community, through Tutorial Classes, University Extension Courses, Chapter III Classes, pioneer courses and other suitable means. To this end they should co-operate with all bodies that can be of assistance, and in particular they should encourage and aid the formation of W.E.A. groups and branches as an important factor in successful class work. For this purpose particulars of existing and new groups organised by the Resident Tutor shall be supplied to the W.E.A. Eastern District so that the case for affiliating to the W.E.A. can be put directly before the group: (the group secretary shall be supplied with copies of the Objects and Policy of the W.E.A. together with details of such dues and/or quota required of affiliated groups or branches). In addition it would be of advantage if Resident Tutors were kept informed of the activities of the W.E.A. in the urban districts of their respective counties.

6. With a view to encouraging the most appropriate course for a particular centre there shall be regular interchange of information and consultation between Officers of the Board and of the W.E.A. Eastern District about applications for classes. The Resident Tutors shall notify the Rural Areas Committee and the W.E.A. Eastern District of the programme of classes proposed in their respective areas for the next session. The Committee shall then recommend the appropriate course to be arranged.

7. Applications for Tutorial Classes and University Extension Courses shall be reported to the Tutorial Classes and Lectures Committees, and the Rural Areas Committee shall be empowered to make preliminary arrangements for such Classes and Courses.

8. The body which, under the present Regulations of the Board of

Education for Adult Education, is normally the responsible body for classes under Chapter III of these Regulations is the W.E.A.: but, whenever groups of students prefer, the Board, acting through the Rural Areas Committee, shall be the responsible body for such classes. When the W.E.A. is responsible body for classes under Chapter III the following procedure will be adopted:-

(a) Board of Education forms will be sent to the Resident Tutors who shall return them to the Rural Areas Committee for record purposes, whence they will be forwarded to the W.E.A. for submission to the Board of Education.

(b) The W.E.A. shall transfer grants on rural classes to the Rural Areas Committee, and the Rural Areas Committee (in a manner to be agreed upon) shall accept financial responsibility for such classes up to an amount to be determined each year.

(c) Each of the bodies represented on the Committee shall recommend Tutors to the Rural Areas Committee for its approval and shall draw upon the Panel so approved for the Tutors it requires.

(d) A copy of the syllabus of all classes and courses shall be supplied to the Rural Areas Committee for approval, and officers and members of the Committee shall be entitled to visit all classes and courses.

9. The Rural Areas Committee shall consider giving grants for organisation expenses from such funds as may be received by it from fees of students in Chapter III Classes.

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10. The W.E.A. District and Branches shall in addition to organising their own Branches and Classes lend all possible assistance to the Board and local centres in promoting Extension work. While the Board cannot bind itself not to conduct an extension course where the W.E.A. had planned a class and while the W.E.A. could not bind itself not to organise a class where the Board had contemplated an extension course, both shall do everything possible to see that activities do not conflict and for this purpose there shall, when making recommendations, be the fullest exchange of information between the Officers, who shall consider the nature of the locality, the personnel of the class or course, and the numbers capable of enrolment.